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A COMPANION

TO

CLASSICAL TEXTS

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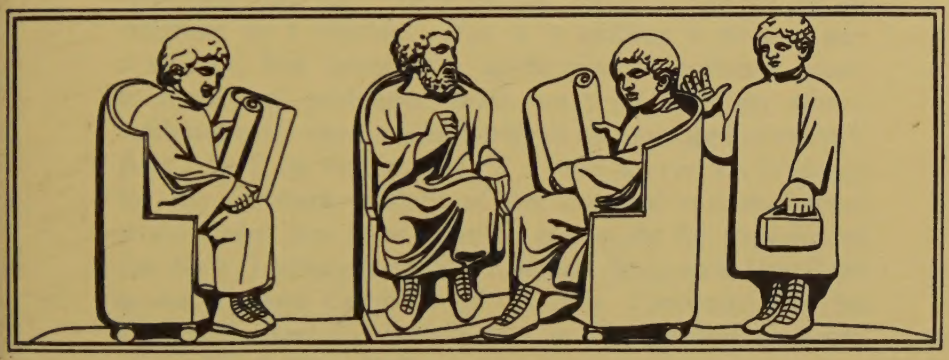

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Reprint of the famous reference work published in Oxford in 1913. The nine special chapters of this book are designed to help the student of classics to obtain information not available elsewhere concerning classical scholarship in general. Contents: *The Ancient Book, The Text of Greek Authors in Ancient Times, The Text of Latin Authors in Ancient Times, History of Latin Texts from the Age of Charlemagne to the Renaissance, History of Texts During the Period of the Renaissance, Recension, Emendation, MS Authorities for the Texts of the Chief Classical Writers, Nomenclature of Manuscripts with the names of Former Possessors.*

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PREFACE

THE more readable parts of this book have been delivered from time to time as lectures to the few among my pupils who care for such things. They are published, together with certain chapters which cannot claim to be easy reading, in the hope that the whole book will prove useful to a wider circle of students,—especially to those who, without wishing to become specialists in textual criticism, yet find that textual problems inevitably enter into their studies. Many people tend to regard textual criticism as a disease. But it is neither a disease nor a science, but simply the application of common sense to a class of problems which beset all inquirers whose evidence rests upon the authority of manuscript documents. And I shall be well content if I have succeeded in doing for the ordinary student of the classical and mediaeval writers what has been done so admirably for students of the New Testament by Sir Frederic Kenyon's *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* and by Eberhard Nestle's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the Greek New Testament.*

The author of a manual of this kind is necessarily carried into many departments of learning where the credentials that he can exhibit are more than doubtful. Though I have endeavoured wherever possible to go back to the original authorities and have rarely quoted what I have not been able to verify, yet in a book which deals with so many questions of controversy and contains such a mass of references I am well aware that many errors may have escaped my notice. I shall be fortunate if my readers will point them out to me (if possible without undue brutality) in order that I may correct them when

I have the opportunity. I have been saved from many by the kindness of friends who have read my proofs or who have allowed me to seek their advice upon points of difficulty. Among such who have assisted me I am bound to mention with especial gratitude Mr. Ingram Bywater, formerly Regius Professor of Greek in Oxford, Professor Hunt, the President of Trinity, Mr. Ross of Oriel, Mr. Garrod of Merton, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson of my own College. The ninth chapter of the book would perhaps have been the most useful if I had been able to render it as complete as I could wish. But to do this is beyond the powers of one man, at any rate until the history of the various collections of manuscripts in Europe has been written with the thoroughness with which the great librarians at Paris have narrated the history of their own unrivalled collections. Meantime I hope that my own imperfect sketch may prove useful until it is superseded by a more exhaustive work.

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F. W. H.

June 24, 1913.

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CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT BOOK

During the greater part of their history the texts of the classical writers have been transmitted in copies made by hand upon rolls or upon codices. These texts have been mutilated and defaced by the laxity or ignorance of scribes in every age, and it is the object of this book to show how far it has been possible for scholars to get behind this corruption in the endeavour to recover the autograph, i.e. the text as originally written by the author.

It must not be forgotten that many of these losses and injuries were due not to the scribe, but to the conditions under which he worked, and in particular to the size, shape, and material of the book in which he wrote. It is necessary, therefore, at the outset to examine briefly the history of the development of the ancient book in order to see how far the changes which it has undergone have affected the fortunes of the texts which it has preserved. For the present purpose a roll will be assumed to be made of papyrus and a codex to be made of vellum or of paper.[1] It is true that vellum rolls are found in use in the earliest period and that codices were made of papyrus in the third century A.D. and later, but such combinations of shape and material were never more than unsatisfactory experiments and never came into common use. (An instance of a vellum roll can be seen in Vaticano-Palatinus 405.)

[1] Paper, made of flax and similar plants (never of cotton), is an invention of the Chinese. The Arabs learnt the secret of its manufacture from Chinese prisoners in Samarcand in A.D. 751. Its use spread with the expansion of the Arab dominion, and it is employed for Greek MSS. in the tenth century, for Latin in the thirteenth. The name 'bombycinus', which was once thought to mean 'cotton-paper', is probably a popular confusion for *βαμβύκινος*, i.e. 'made at Bambyke' near Samarcand. (*v.* Karabacek, Preface to *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*. 1894.)

The codex derives its shape and name from the wooden block split into several writing tablets connected by hinges (Sen. *de Breu. Vit.* 13. 4 'plurium tabularum contextus caudex apud antiquos uocatur'). Its shape and the beauty and durability of the vellum from which its leaves were usually made would seem to mark it as the most convenient form of book. Yet there is no doubt that it was never really popular in ancient times. It was adopted by the Roman world for reasons that will be described later. It is evident that Greece ignored it as long as she could, since the term τεῦχος, which is the only equivalent for the Latin codex, is not found before the Christian era. For nearly a thousand years after literature began in Greece (600 B.C.–A.D. 300) the papyrus roll was without a rival. It was light and easy to handle, while its dull brown colour was pleasanter to readers of normal eyesight than the white surface of vellum.[1]

Till the end of the eighteenth century little was known about this form of the ancient book. No roll made of papyrus and containing a classical text was accessible to scholars, and hence it was impossible to form an estimate of the conditions under which texts had been transmitted in the earliest times. In 1752 a large number of charred rolls containing the works of Philodemus, a minor philosopher of the Epicurean school, were discovered in the course of excavations at Herculaneum, where they had remained buried since the eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.

The discovery, however, of an unknown writer threw little light upon the condition of the texts of the great classical authors in the first century and could have no effect upon textual criticism. More valuable discoveries were to come from a different and unexpected source. In 1821 a papyrus copy of a portion of the *Iliad* (the Bankes papyrus) was discovered in Egypt, and an equally valuable fragment (the Harris papyrus)

[1] Galen (περὶ χρείας μορίων Kühn iii. 776) says that the whiteness of vellum was injurious to the eyes. Quintilian (*De Instit.* x. 3. 31) recommends membranae rather than wax tablets to authors who have weak sight, but only to serve as the rough draft and not for reading.

was discovered in 1849. Since then papyri, fragmentary or complete, have been found in increasing abundance in the district of the Fayoum to the south of Cairo and at Ashmunen (Hermopolis) and Behnesa (Oxyrhynchus) in Upper Egypt south of the Fayoum. A convenient summary of the literary texts discovered up to 1897 will be found in C. Häberlin, *Griechische Papyri* (Leipzig, 1897).

These discoveries have contributed a mass of evidence as to the condition of ancient classical texts throughout a period ranging from the end of the fourth century B.C. down to the seventh century A.D. This evidence is even now hardly assimilated and has often increased rather than simplified the problems of textual criticism in many writers. Unfortunately, the new knowledge has been almost entirely confined to Greek Literature and has not been balanced by any equivalent gain in Latin. In the tombs and rubbish-heaps of the Greek settlers in Egypt it is only by a rare chance[1] that fragments of Roman authors are found. Whether a scientific exploration of Herculaneum is likely to repair this loss must still remain uncertain. If the discoveries which have already been made there give the promise of a rich harvest, they also show that none but charred rolls, which are exceedingly difficult to unfold and to decipher, are likely to have survived, since it is only through the carbonization which they suffered in the conflagration of the town that they have been rendered immune from the effects of damp and decay.

In the present chapter we shall consider the history of the Roll, the conditions which its shape and size imposed upon its contents, the reasons for its gradual disappearance, and also attempt to estimate the influence which the change from Roll to Codex may have exerted upon classical texts.

Βύβλος or πάπυρος is a kind of reed (*Cyperus papyrus*) native to Abyssinia, Nubia, and other regions of the Upper Nile. At an

[1] e.g. Oxyrhynchus *Livy*; *Vergil*, Oxyrh. 31, 1098, 1099; *Cicero*, Oxyrh. 1097, Rylands 61, Mélanges Chatelain, p. 442; *Sallust*, Oxyrh. 884, Pap. Soc. It. 110.

early date it was introduced into Lower Egypt, where it grew to perfection, especially in the region of the Delta. The plant is now extinct except in the countries to which it originally belonged. A different species (*Cyperus syriacus*) was introduced into Sicily in the tenth century by the Mohammedan Arabs and still grows somewhat precariously in the river Anapus.

Papyrus is found in use in Egypt as a material for writing at an exceedingly early date. One of the earliest documents is an account book of King Assa which is dated 3580–3536 B.C. For a long time this material remained peculiar to Egypt. Shortly before 1000 B.C., however, there appears to have been some movement in the hitherto arrested civilization of Syria which issued in the invention of a more convenient system of writing. This was the Alphabet, which under various forms is still in use throughout the Western world.

The use of this alphabet spread rapidly from the nearer East to the countries of the Mediterranean basin and created a demand for a more convenient material for writing than the rolls of leather, tablets of clay, and other substances which had long been employed. To this period must be assigned the introduction among the peoples of the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean of rolls made of lighter materials, such as papyrus, or the inner tissues of similar plants.[1]

The history of the introduction of the roll into Greece is not fully known. It is plain, however, from the fact that several of the technical terms connected with writing are of Eastern origin, that the materials for writing, as well as the alphabet, came to Greece from the East. Βύβλος itself is derived from the Phoenician town Byblos (G^{e}bal): δέλτος, the wooden tablet which is the earliest material for writing, is allied to the Semitic *dêleth*, 'a door'. Χάρτης, the Greek word for papyrus-paper, is undoubtedly foreign, but its origin is uncertain. It is natural to attribute the introduction of the papyrus roll into Greece to

[1] The Report of Wenamon (under Rameses XII, 1150 B.C.) mentions the importation of 500 rolls of papyrus from Egypt to Byblos. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv. 284.

the intellectual upheaval which began in Ionia in the seventh century and spread rapidly across to continental Greece in the sixth. A demand must have arisen for copies of literary works which were too long to be conveniently reproduced on the wooden tablets or leathern rolls which had hitherto been in use. The intimate relations which existed between Egypt and Greece from early times render it extremely probable that if a new and more convenient material for writing was in demand, the papyrus roll from Egypt could not have been overlooked. It has been held, however, on the authority of Pliny,[1] that the rolls in use in Greece before the time of Alexander must have been made of other materials than papyrus. Herodotus, too, has been taken to corroborate Pliny, since in his account of the use made of papyrus in Egypt (ii. 92) he omits to make any mention of its use for paper. But Herodotus's silence may equally well be interpreted as meaning that the use of papyrus for this purpose was so well known in Greece that there was no need to state that it was used for the same purpose in Egypt. And the fact that an Attic inscription of 407 B. C. (*C. I. A.* i. 324) refers to the purchase of two sheets of papyrus for two drachmas four obols, whatever be the interpretation put upon this apparently enormous price, is sufficient to throw the gravest doubts on the accuracy of Pliny's statement.

The best description of the papyrus plant is found in Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iv. 8. 3 *φύεται δὲ ὁ πάπυρος οὐκ ἐν βάθει τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐν δύο πήχεσιν, ἐνιαχοῦ δὲ ἐν ἐλάττονι. πάχος μὲν οὖν τῆς ῥίζης ἡλίκον καρπὸς χειρὸς ἀνδρὸς εὐρώστου, μῆκος δὲ ὑπὲρ δέκα πήχεις. φύεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς αὐτῆς πλαγίας ῥίζας εἰς τὸν πηλὸν καθιεὶς λεπτὰς καὶ πυκνάς, ἄνω δὲ τοὺς παπύρους καλουμένους τριγώνους μέγεθος ὡς τετραπήχεις.* This account is embodied in the description given by Pliny, *N. H.* xiii. 11. 21, where full details are given of the process of manufacture of Charta. The triangular stem was sliced lengthwise into thin ribbon-like strips (*philyrae*, *scissurae*).

[1] Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 11. 21 'Hanc (chartam) Alexandri Magni uictoria repertam auctor est M. Varro, condita in Aegypto Alexandria. Antea non fuisse chartarum usum.'

As the stem, when the outer envelope was removed, consisted of a homogeneous pith,[1] all the strips taken from any one plant were of equal quality and differed only in size, those taken from the centre of the stem being the widest. The finest charta was made from the widest strips. Every sheet (κόλλημα, *pagina, scida*) consisted of two layers of these strips, so arranged that when the completed sheet lay before the writer, the strips which formed the under layer or *verso* were perpendicular, while those strips which formed the writing surface or *recto* were horizontal, and so offered the least possible resistance to the reed pen with which he wrote.[2] The sheet accordingly resembled a piece of closed network, whence the name δίκτυον or *plagula* which was frequently applied to it in ancient times. This structure of the sheet can be seen clearly in plate II. The two layers were moistened with Nile water mixed with a little glue; they were then pressed together, dried in the sun, and rubbed smooth with ivory or a shell and hammered to expel any moisture left between the layers. The sheet was always greater in height than in breadth, since the vertical strips were generally made longer than the horizontal. The maximum height of the sheet is about 15½ inches, the breadth 9½. But within these limits there are endless variations, and it by no means follows that the tallest sheets are also the widest.

As regards the size of the roll used for literary works there is no evidence for the hard and fast rules which have been framed by some modern authorities (e. g. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 1882). Pliny states that charta was sold in lengths of 20 sheets (τόμοι χάρτου, *scapi*), and the number of 20 can still be seen marked at intervals on Egyptian rolls. But such a length was only a device of the χαρτοπώλης to meet the average demand, and did not imply any restriction on the author, who was free to issue his work in any size that suited his convenience. The shape and arrangement of the roll, however, suggested a mean size of

[1] It did not consist of concentric layers as is sometimes stated.

[2] According to Ibscher (*Archiv f. Pap.-forsch.* v. 191) the horizontal fibres would be strained if rolled outwards.

20 to 30 feet, the higher limit according to Kenyon being rarely if ever exceeded. The largest papyrus of Hyperides in the British Museum (cviii, cxv) is about 28 feet in length, that of Herodas was originally about 25 feet long, while the roll containing Hyperides *in Athenogenem* cannot have exceeded 7 feet. The Herculaneum rolls all vary in length, and to judge from the sum total of columns which is in many instances indicated, they must often have exceeded 20 sheets in length. There are, for instance, 147 columns in Philodemus, περὶ ῥητορικῆς δ' τὸ πρότερον.

The statements in the classical writers themselves imply that the size of the roll could be adjusted to its contents, e.g. Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 6 'Tu illud desecabis, hoc adglutinabis'; Hor. *Serm.* i. 10. 92 'I puer atque meo citus haec subscribe libello'. A roll preserved at Vienna (pap. Zois ii) has been lengthened in this way. It is also clear that *Monobibla*, or works published separately in a single roll, could vary considerably in size. Thus the *Carmen saeculare* contains only 76 lines, Martial's *Xenia* 266, Vergil's *Bucolics* 829, while Horace *Epp.* i contains 1,006. But, though an author might issue a single book in a roll of any size that was not too awkward to handle, it would have obviously been inconvenient to have a long work, whether a poem or a history, written in sections of unequal length. In the pre-Alexandrine period an author seems to have arranged a long work without any regard to the size of the roll. Thucydides evidently composed his work as a continuous whole without trying to adjust the pauses in his narrative so that they might coincide with the end of the rolls in which it was published. This is the system referred to by the anonymous author of the *Lexicon Vindobonense*, p. 273 (Nauck) αἱ μέντοι ῥαψῳδίαι κατὰ συνάφειαν ᾄδοντο, κορωνίδι μόνῃ διαστελλόμεναι, ἄλλῳ δ' οὐδενί, i. e. the writing was continuous and the break in the narrative was not calculated so as to come at the end of the roll, but might occur anywhere, and was signified by the coronis (*v.* p. 13) wherever necessary. It is also the system which Livius Andronicus found in use when he translated the *Odyssey* into Latin, since it is known that his version took no account of the later division into twenty-four books.

This system must have made it extremely difficult to find a passage in a long work without considerable trouble. It was accordingly superseded, soon after the foundation of Alexandria, by a new system which was more suited to the needs of the great libraries and to the highly developed trade in books which the great libraries fostered. The principle of the Alexandrines is that the author when composing his work must not forget the size of the rolls which it would require, but endeavour to make his main divisions coincide with the end of each roll. The principle was applied to the older literature, e. g. Herodotus and Thucydides were arranged in nine and eight books respectively. Thus the 'books' into which the older works are divided are to be regarded as purely arbitrary divisions invented by the Alexandrines for their own convenience and not as part of the author's original plan.

The introduction of a roll of standard size led to the arrangement of large works in groups of rolls. Without some such arrangement a long work would have presented an intolerable chaos to the ordinary reader.

An obvious scheme of division for long works was found in the twenty-four letters of the alphabet (e. g. in Homer, Theophrastus, Aristotle). Where this scheme was not convenient the decimal numeration (with $\varsigma = 6$, $\iota = 10$, $\kappa = 20$) was adopted. The various groups in which the longest works were arranged are based upon one or other of these systems. The works of Varro were arranged in groups of three or six rolls (*triads* or *hexads*): those of Plotinus in groups of nine (*enneads*). The most usual arrangement was in groups of five (*pentads*, e. g. Diodorus) or ten (*decads*, e. g. Plato, *Republic*, Cassius Dio, Livy). If kept in an *armarium* or press with shelves, the rolls were often arranged in a pyramid, and for this purpose decads were especially convenient, since they could be arranged with a base of four rolls on which were placed layers of three, two, and one successively. An illustration of this (though from a late monument) is reproduced here (plate III) from Clark's *Care of Books* (p. 38, Fig. 13). For transport a *capsa* or box was used. If the *capsa* was square in shape the rolls were tied together in a bundle and laid flat

inside it; if, as was more usual, it was round, they were placed in it upright so as to stand on their ends. This system of grouping rolls together will explain why whole decads of Livy have perished. Any injury that befell the box might easily affect all the ten rolls which it contained.

This new principle of standard sizes for the roll—though, as will be seen, the standard was not absolutely rigid—affects all literature from the time of Alexander till the third century A. D., when the vellum codex began to take the place of the papyrus roll. As an indication of the manner in which it was put in practice, the statement of Isidore, Bishop of Seville (d. A. D. 636), may be accepted: 'Quaedam nomina librorum certis modulis conficiebantur, breuiori forma carmina atque epistolae, at uero historiae maiori modulo scribebantur' (*Etymologiae*, vi. 12).

Poetry was read for pleasure, and the reader would frequently wish to carry the book about with him. Hence the roll was made of moderate size. The average length was from 700 to 1,100 lines, and the longer books found in the poems of Apollonius Rhodius (1,285–1,781 lines) and Lucretius (1,094–1,457) are to be regarded as survivals from the pre-Alexandrine period. Vergil in the *Aeneid* ranges from 705 to 952: Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* from 623 to 968. The collections of Letters that were written for publication, and hence are properly to be regarded as belonging to polite literature, fall into similar divisions. The unit of measurement for Prose is the στίχος or line of maximum size which was taken to be the average length of a hexameter verse, i. e. 16 syllables or 34–8 letters.[1] The Letters of the younger Pliny were published in nine books, each of which contains from 1,062 to 1,232 στίχοι. They vary accordingly within the exceedingly narrow limit of 170 lines.

The roll used for prose works was generally intended for reference and appealed to a narrower circle of readers. It

[1] In practice (as will be seen below, p. 12) the written line was often shorter. But for the purposes of the trade, in order e. g. to fix the price of the book and the payment due to the scribe, it was found convenient to have a standard 'line', just as the modern copyist finds it convenient to have a standard 'folio' as a unit of measurement.

was often four or five times as large as the average roll of poetry. The books of Livy vary in length from 1,905 to 3,365 lines. Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and Ammianus rarely exceed two thousand. At a rough estimate the length of the books of a carefully planned prose work may be taken as two to three thousand lines. But, as in Poetry, there was no constraint upon the author who did not choose to consult the convenience of his readers. Polybius and Diodorus are old-fashioned and occasionally extend the roll to five thousand. Pausanias, Strabo, and Dioscorides are writers of scientific treatises and allow their material to govern the size of their rolls, which range from two to four thousand lines.

It is evident, therefore, that the size of the roll ultimately controlled the arrangement of its contents, though the margin of variation was wide enough not to impose any burdensome restriction upon an author.

The conditions under which the earlier literature was produced before the organization of the book-trade in Greece will be considered in the next chapter. It is known that a commerce in books had developed in Athens towards the close of the fifth century. Xenophon (*Anab.* vii. 5. 14) states that part of the cargo of a ship wrecked at Salmydessos in Thrace consisted of *βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι*. It is clear therefore that an export trade had already begun. The evidence as to the methods employed by ancient booksellers in producing editions of literary works is exceedingly scanty until the time of Cicero. There is, however, no reason for supposing that the methods of the trade had changed in their main outlines between the fifth century and the first.

In the first century B. C. an author was not paid for his work by the bookseller. Cicero could hardly have cancelled the introduction to the *Academica* without paying some compensation to Atticus, if Atticus had paid him a royalty. There was no law of literary copyright either in Greece or Rome, and the first issue of a book was the only edition that could be controlled by the author or the bookseller whom he employed. Hence it was to

the interest of an author that the first edition of his book should be published in as accurate a form as possible. Often he revised the early copies himself (cf. Mart. vii. 17. 7 'libellos auctoris calamo sui notatos'). In any case a copy, if properly made, was not issued until it had been revised by the διορθωτής or corrector, who compared it with the original, or if it were a copy of a work already published, with some standard text. (Cf. Strabo xiii. 1. 54, p. 609 καὶ βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαίνει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.)

When a work was likely to be in demand, a large number of slaves must have been employed simultaneously in producing copies of the author's manuscript. It is often asserted that the text was dictated in order to secure speed in production. But while it is impossible to deny that this method may have been employed, it is difficult to see what advantage it would bring. Whatever time might be saved in making the copy would be lost in the subsequent labour of correcting the numerous errors that could hardly fail to arise in copies taken down from dictation by a large number of scribes, many or most of whom would be foreigners. It is significant that Greek and Roman art preserves no representation of scribes copying from dictation in the manner portrayed in Egyptian reliefs. While there is no evidence of the methods of copying that were actually in use, it is not difficult to imagine one more feasible than dictation. The author's copy might be divided into sections, and each section passed to a number of scribes to be copied by them in succession: or, if speed were essential, each scribe might copy a single section many times over, the different sections being subsequently joined together so as to form complete rolls. It would not have been difficult to ensure such uniformity of handwriting as would make the difference between the sections hardly noticeable.

In the earliest period the lines of the columns of prose writing in the roll seem to have been of unequal length. At a later date it becomes the practice, introduced perhaps by the

Alexandrines, to make the lines almost uniform in any single roll, if allowance is made for the slight inequalities entailed by the strict rules for the division of syllables which were observed in Greek. The length of the line was not always the same. The old view that the Alexandrines deliberately chose the hexameter line as the standard of length to be always observed by the scribe is now abandoned. The truth appears to be that the hexameter, which contains on an average from 34 to 38 letters, was a convenient measure of maximum length. But the line in common use in the papyri is often much shorter and consists sometimes of not more than 10 to 15 letters. The average length is from 20 to 25.

In verse texts the stichic or uniform metres (e.g. iambic senarii and the dactylic hexameter) are written line by line. Where, however, the passage is composed of mixed metres, e.g. in lyric poetry and in dramatic choruses, the practice varies. In the Timotheos fragment, contemporary with Alexander the Great, the whole is written as prose: in the Bacchylides papyrus (circ. 50 B.C.) the metres are written in separate lines. In the Berlin Fragments of Corinna (No. 284, second century A.D.) both methods appear. In the Berlin fragment of the *Phaethon* (P. 9771, which is said to belong to the first century B.C.) the choruses are written in prose, the metres being indicated by a horizontal stroke of the pen. This neglect of the proper metrical divisions in the early copies lies at the bottom of much textual corruption in poetry.

A further source of error was the practice, almost universal in ancient times, of writing each line of the text in a continuous script.[1] This led to confusions in writing, and the hand of the 'corrector' who has endeavoured to remove them can still be seen in the papyri that survive. It led also to confusions on the part of the reader, though some attempt is often made to assist the reader by signs. Among such signs are: (1) The ordinary accents placed over difficult words and

[1] Instances are found in Latin where the words are divided by points, e.g. the *Carmen Actiacum* from Herculaneum (Scott, *Fragmenta Herculanensia*, Appendix).

proper names. Often the unaccented syllables only are marked with barytone accents. A diaeresis distinguishes the vowels ϊ and ϋ. (2) The sign ⏑ under the line is used (as in the later codices) to indicate compound words. A diastole or mark like a comma is used as a sign that words are to be separated. (3) Punctuation. The dot above the line indicates the minor pauses. Dots in the middle and low position are also used for punctuation. A colon or double point is used to mark the division between the sentences and a change of speaker. The paragraphos, or lateral stroke (_) drawn under the line to which it refers, signifies a break in the sense, such as is occasioned by a change of speaker in a dialogue or play,[1] and is also used to denote a pause of any kind. In choruses this stroke is used to distinguish strophe and antistrophos. The end of a book or of some large division is marked by the coronis ⳾, which is merely an elaboration of the paragraphos. Occasionally it is used like the paragraphos to distinguish strophes in poetry.

If notes are inserted in the roll they are ordinarily written in the space to the right of the column to which they refer. If the scribe contemplated writing notes of any length he left wide spaces between the columns as in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus of the Paeans of Pindar (No. 841). But it was not the custom to surround the text with the elaborate commentaries that are sometimes found in the later vellum codices. Such commentaries, e.g. the Berlin Didymus on Demosthenes, were published as separate works.

There is no reason to believe that the lines or columns of a roll were ever numbered so as to facilitate reference. The meaning of the stichometrical numbers has been explained above, p. 9, note 1 (cf. also Schubart, *Das Buch*, p. 67 sqq.).

Papyrus was by no means a durable material except in dry climates. When new it was exceedingly tough, but its strength diminished with age and use. It was quickly spoilt, if not destroyed, by damp and was soon attacked by insects unless

[1] The insertion of the dramatis personae dates from the Empire.

treated with cedar oil. The first sheet (*πρωτόκολλον*) and the last (*ἐσχατοκόλλιον*, Martial, ii. 6. 3) were peculiarly liable to damage. To enable the first sheet to withstand the strain of constant handling it was sometimes stiffened by a strip about an inch wide pasted on the back. The last sheet was similarly protected. The papyri which have hitherto been found do not show any traces of the rollers (*ὀμφαλός*, *umbilicus*) of wood or ivory which the Roman authors constantly mention as attached to the beginning and end of the roll.[1] There is, however, no reason to doubt that they were in use, though they were probably confined to the more expensive rolls. It is obvious that the first or last sheet might easily be torn from such a roller if the reader was not careful in unrolling his book or in rolling it up again. The effect of mutilations at the beginning and end of the roll upon the texts of classical writers will be considered later.

A slip of vellum, leather, or papyrus (*σίττυβος*, *lorum*, *index*, *titulus*) of oblong shape was attached either to the roll itself or to the *umbilicus* so as to enable the title to be read without opening the roll or even removing it from its receptacle. One has been found still in position attached to a papyrus of Bacchylides (P. Oxyrh. 1091). In the elaborate copies made for libraries or for the best class of purchasers the title of the work was given inside the book as well, either at the beginning or at the end. Copies made privately, according to Galen, sometimes had no title: *Φίλοις γὰρ ἢ μαθηταῖς ἐδίδοτο χωρὶς ἐπιγραφῆς ὡς ἂν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἔκδοσιν* (Galen, Kühn, xix. 9). Doubtless many of the instances of anonymous literature, e. g. the *Ad Herennium* and the *Treatise on the Sublime*, are due to descent from some privately written copy of the original.

The shape of the roll also gave rise to the practice of quoting from memory, which is common to all ancient writers. The roll would not lie conveniently on the desk, and hence an author could easily be tempted to avoid the trouble of verifying a quotation. The change from roll to codex is reflected in the

[1] Cf. Stat. *Silu.* iv. 9. 8 'binis decoratus umbilicis'.

methods of writers, such as Orosius (*c.* A.D. 417), who do not assimilate their authorities but transcribe them.

The Codex or folded book plays no great part in the transmission of literary works until the fourth century A. D. There is no evidence to show that it was ever in common use in Greece or in Greek lands before the Christian era. The early references which seem to imply the existence of some sort of folded book before this date are all inconclusive, e. g. Aesch. *Suppl.* 947 *οὐδ' ἐν πτυχαῖς βίβλων κατεσφραγισμένα*, a passage which has been needlessly suspected. This, however, may mean no more than a folded sheet. Galen alludes to editions of Hippocrates written on *χάρται* three hundred years before his time (Kühn, xviii. 2). These may not be books, but only copies of the smaller treatises made upon loose sheets for the convenience of the student. For a time it was thought that evidence for the use of the codex in Asia Minor as early as the first century B.C. could be obtained from an inscription discovered at Priene. Early in that century the citizens of Priene decreed certain honours to one of their officials named Aulus Aemilius Zosimus, who, among the many services which he had rendered to his native town, had made a collection of the local decrees and had presented the town with two copies, one on papyrus and the other, it has been supposed, on vellum and in the form of a codex: *διπλῆν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν αὐτῶν παραδοὺς ἐν δερματίνοις καὶ βυβλίνοις τεύχεσιν* (Von Gärtringen, *Inschr. von Priene*, No. 114). But it is more than doubtful whether *τεῦχος* can be taken to mean codex at so early a date. More probably it means a roll (cf. Birt, *Die Buchrolle*, p. 21, note 2) made of the ordinary *διφθέραι* or leathern skins that were common throughout the East from the earliest times. The folded book was doubtless known in early times in Greece. The pattern was already to hand in the folded tablet of wood. But it is clear that it was not in common use till it was adopted by the Romans, or the references to it would be more explicit.

At Rome it was many centuries before the vellum codex came

into use for works of literature, and the history of its development is uncertain. Towards the end of the Republic vellum was used by authors for their rough drafts and vellum codices were used by merchants for their account books. Its durability, and the comparative ease with which it could be cleaned and used again, recommended it for both these purposes. Not till the first century A.D. do we begin to find it used for permanent copies of literary works. Martial, in the fourteenth book of his epigrams entitled the *Apophoreta*, the date of which is placed *circa* A.D. 85, describes a number of gifts suitable for presentation by rich and poor to their friends at the Saturnalia. The gifts are arranged in pairs, and in the original arrangement (which has been disturbed in several places) the expensive gift is described first. Among these gifts are rolls and codices: and it is not easy to infer from the collection as it stands whether the rolls or the codices are regarded as the more costly present. Among the pairs given are:

184. Homerus in pugillaribus membraneis.	183. Homeri Batrachomachia.
186. Vergilius in membranis.	185. Vergili Culex.
188. Cicero in membraneis.	189. Monobyblos Properti.
190. Titus Liuius in membranis.	191. Sallustius.
192. Ouidi Metamorphosis in membranis.	193. Tibullus.
194. Lucanus.	195. Catullus.

It has been argued with great persistence by Birt that the rolls which are here given in the second column are the more expensive gifts.

He is led to this view in order to obtain support for his theory that papyrus was always more expensive than vellum, and in order to maintain it he has to assume that the works contained in the rolls were valuable from their rarity as well as written on the more costly material. Otherwise it would be impossible to argue that works of such small compass as the *Culex*, Sallust, Catullus, and Propertius could be reckoned as more valuable presents than the whole of Vergil and of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

But there is no evidence that the small works in question had become rare so early as the age of Martial, and the natural view is to regard them (with Friedländer) as the cheap presents. The vellum codices here mentioned will then be an expensive form of book, pocket editions used by the rich when on their travels[1]: e.g. the edition of Cicero on vellum in Martial xiv. 188 'Si comes ista tibi fuerit membrana, putato Carpere te longas cum Cicerone uias'. It is not necessary to suppose that such editions contained the complete works of the longer authors such as Cicero or Livy. Doubtless they consisted of excerpts. This seems implied in the description of the codex of Livy in xiv. 190 'Pellibus exiguis artatur Liuius ingens'.

The vellum codex therefore as a medium for the preservation of literature was slowly winning its way to recognition in the time of Martial. A small indication of the position which it held by the side of the papyrus roll is afforded by the language of the jurists during the first three centuries of the Empire. Though they had long used the codex themselves they are never quite certain whether it can be included under the legal meaning of the term '*libri*'. In the first century Cassius Longinus ventures on the opinion that *membranae* are books, and that if a testator left his 'books' to his heir *membranae* would be included among them. But Ulpian in the third century doubts the soundness of this opinion, and holds that on a strict interpretation only rolls are denoted by the term (Dig. xxxiii. 52), though it is immaterial whether rolls are made of papyrus or vellum.

The convenience of the codex recommended it to the use of the Church. The Gospels were undoubtedly transmitted in the form of rolls during the first two centuries. But the roll was neither compact nor durable. A single codex, however, could

[1] It is only by assuming that vellum was more expensive than papyrus that we can explain the alarm felt in the reign of Tiberius when the supply of papyrus seemed likely to fail. . 'Factumque iam Tiberio principe inopia chartae ut e senatu darentur arbitri dispensandis: alias in tumultu uita erat' (Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 13. 89). Civilized life could hardly have been threatened by such a failure if there had really been cheap vellum ready to take the place of papyrus.

contain all that was essential to the Faith: it could withstand constant use and could be produced cheaply enough to satisfy the demand of the poorer classes who were the earliest converts to Christianity.

By the fourth century the codex had become a serious rival to the roll. Basil and Jerome use both forms of book, but Jerome himself in his letter to Marcella offers a typical instance of the change that was everywhere taking place. He there describes the condition of the library of Pamphilus of Caesarea. The rolls in it were found to be in a state of decay towards the end of the fourth century and two priests, Euzoius and Acacius, undertook to transcribe their contents upon codices. In profane literature the growing popularity of the codex is attested by specimens belonging to the fourth century which still survive in a fragmentary condition (e.g. Vatican Vergil 3225, usually quoted as F): and with this century begins the gradual transference of the ancient literature from roll to codex, though the use of the roll certainly survived among the cultivated pagan remnant in the West till the fifth century.

The influence which this 'codification' of ancient writers may have had upon the texts of their works is a factor which must enter into any critical estimate. Such a transference is like the change in the gauge of a railway which is bound to affect the rolling stock. One result, which was not long delayed, was a shrinkage in the bulk of the older literature. The vellum codex was costly, though cheaper for a long work than a large number of rolls. Authors survived or perished according to the value set upon them during this period. Many works of the highest value were allowed to decay in the roll form and passed out of existence, e.g. the historian Theopompus. It is to this period rather than to the Byzantine age that the main losses in Greek literature must be ascribed. In nearly every case the effect of the change was to leave the longer works incomplete. Either the collection of rolls which served as the archetype of our vellum manuscripts was defective, or excerpts were intentionally substituted for the complete text. As early as the last century

before Christ, Diodorus (xvi. 3. 8) complains of the loss of several rolls belonging to the History of Theopompus. The works of Livy, which were complete in the time of Symmachus (350–420), must have become mutilated soon after: and the same fate overtook the writings of Tacitus, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus, and Varro.

Another effect was the confusion and sometimes the total obliteration of the old arrangement by books. This arrangement, which, as has been seen, was the corollary of the roll system, was no longer essential when the text was transferred to the codex. A long section would no longer entail a long and cumbersome roll and the author could now choose sections of any length that seemed best to him. Little harm, however, has been done where the disappearance of the old divisions has not dislocated the text, e.g. in Demosthenes' λόγοι παραγραφικοί, which were arranged in τόμοι of six orations apiece, as can be seen from the traces that still survive in the Paris codex Σ. So too in Juvenal the old division into books would be lost but for the evidence of the Pithoeanus. Here again the text has not suffered. Often, however, the rolls were copied in the wrong order. Jerome utters a warning against this danger in the Preface to Ezechiel: 'Ne librorum numerus confundatur et per longa temporum spatia diuisorum inter se uoluminum ordo uitietur praefatiunculas singulis libris praeposui.' As an instance of what has happened to several writers we may take Cicero's *Epistulae ad Familiares*. Here a difficulty has always been felt in the traditional order, according to which the official letters, *Ad Senatum et ceteros*, are inserted between Book XIV (addressed to his wife Terentia) and Book XVI (addressed to his freedman Tiro). The letters to Tiro are certainly in place at the end of the collection and their order is attested by the subscriptio EGO TIRO EDIDI ET VT POTVI EMENDAVI. The grammarian Nonius (or the authorities whom he follows) cites a passage from what is now Book XV as being part of *M. Tullius ad Cassium lib. I*, thus implying that Book XV came first in his copy of the *Ad Familiares*. This is the natural position for the official

letters, which ought to precede the letters to private friends. In support of this view it has been observed by F. Marx (*Festschrift für O. Benndorf*, 1898, p. 46) that Nonius cites as much from Book XV as from all the other books in the collection. This is in keeping with the general practice of the ancient grammarians, who make far more liberal excerpts from the earlier books of a work than from the later. The inference to be drawn is that the present numeration of the books of the *Ad Familiares* is not very ancient. In the time of Hadrian the collection began with Book XV and ended with Book XVI. The old order was disturbed when the text was transferred from rolls to codices about A.D. 350 and cannot now be recovered in its entirety.

An error of the like origin is seen in the *Naturales Quaestiones* of Seneca and in the *Comedies* of Plautus. In the Ambrosianus of Plautus the alphabetical order is disturbed, since the *Trinummus*, *Truculentus*, and *Vidularia* are wrongly inserted between the *Menaechmi* and the *Poenulus*. Terence's plays were arranged in chronological order. This order is preserved in the Bembinus except that the second and third plays (the *Heauton* and the *Eunuchus*) have been interchanged.

It might easily happen that the roll from which the codex was copied was mutilated at the beginning or end.[1] Hence the title of a work together with the name of its author might easily be lost, and as rolls on the same subject were frequently kept in the same *capsa* we have here one explanation of the false ascription of works to well-known writers. A probable instance of mutilation at the end of a roll is to be seen in Propertius, Book I. The poem beginning with 'Qualis et unde genus', follows the regular type of literary *βίος* introduced by the Alexandrines to precede or conclude a work. But it is obviously incomplete. The loss, however, cannot be ascribed to the middle age or to the eighth-century archetype which some assume for the existing manuscripts. From its position at the end of the first book it

[1] Cf. the loss of the end of the Gospel of St. Mark.

must date from a time when the book had a separate existence in a single roll.

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CHAPTER II

THE TEXT OF GREEK AUTHORS IN ANCIENT TIMES

In the preceding chapter it has been shown that the form of the ancient book and the materials of which it was composed imply certain dangers to the text which it contains. More serious dangers arise from other conditions under which the text is transmitted. If no control is exercised over the copyist the integrity of the text is certain to be impaired even during the lifetime of the author. The chances of corruption are infinitely greater when the author is dead, the purpose of his work perhaps forgotten and the very meaning of words that were clear to his contemporaries blurred or misunderstood through changes in habits of thought or through the natural development of the language in which he wrote. The text must be protected if it is to survive without loss and such protection can only be given by scholarship—the one safeguard against inevitable corruption in the ages before the invention of printing. But scholarship is not coeval with literature in Greece, and even at Rome some authors, such as Plautus, long remained outside its range. It is necessary, therefore, at the outset to draw distinctions between the various classes of texts. Some, such as Vergil and the greater Latin poets, have been protected from the first by skilled grammarians and have consequently suffered little harm in transmission. Others, such as Pindar and to some extent the Greek Tragedians, were only protected after a long period of unlicensed transmission and have suffered considerable harm, though the damage can often be estimated and sometimes repaired. Others again, though happily few in number, such as the poems of Manilius, and occasional works such as the letters of Demosthenes, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and some of the

Homeric Hymns, seem never to have been protected at all, and survive in a state of grave corruption.

It is clear, therefore, that before the textual critic approaches the work of Recension (i.e. the critical examination of all the documents in which a text is preserved) and Emendation (i.e. the attempt to restore the corrupt passages which remain in a text after the work of recension is complete) he is bound to consider the history of the text upon which he is working. He must diagnose the disease, or else he may be attempting to correct errors which are of such ancient standing as to be incurable by modern methods, or he may be questioning a text which can be traced back to the original author.

Almost every Greek author before the Alexandrine period, and certainly each separate department of literature, presents a different problem and the solution of the problem must begin with an exhaustive inquiry into the history of the text, so far as the history is ascertainable. It is only within the last quarter of a century that such inquiries have been conducted with any measure of success[1] upon lines best seen in the work of such men as Wilamowitz-Möllendorff[2] on the Tragedians and Lyric and Bucolic poets, Usener on Plato, Diels on Aristotle and Demosthenes, and Leo and Lindsay on Plautus.

That questions so vital have remained unanswered for so long is due to two causes. In the first place, the materials for forming a judgement upon Alexandrine scholarship were scattered or did not exist. An advance was rendered possible by the work of scholars such as Lehrs and Ludwich—who have determined accurately the methods employed by Aristarchus by their critical

[1] That the method was no new discovery can be seen from a rough draft of Ritschl's lectures given in Ribbeck's *Life of Ritschl*, i. 334: 'Die Kritik ist Jahrhunderte lang subjectiv geübt worden: glänzend Bentley. Einseitigkeit und Principlosigkeit, die zu jeder Willkür führt, weil kein Anhalt. *Historisch ist zu verfahren, nach den Quellen zu fragen, nach den objectiven Grundlagen . . . die Geschichte des Textes zu erforschen.*'

[2] Especially in his Euripides, *Herakles* (1899), and his *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin, 1900). The present chapter is founded largely on the theory of development which he has maintained in these works.

examination of the Venetian Scholia to Homer—and by such pioneer editions as Lentz's collection of the Fragments of Herodian, the grammarian of the second century A.D.; and, as has already been seen, progress has of late been quickened by the rich discoveries of ancient papyri. In the second place, it is now evident that the accepted methods of textual criticism have been based too exclusively upon the needs of the Latin classics. The great Latin authors worked under favourable conditions which had been secured in Greece only after centuries of haphazard transmission. They wrote for a public whose demands were supplied by a highly organized book trade. Hence their works were copied from the first with professional skill, and soon published in standard editions which were protected by the labours of a long line of scholars who had inherited the best traditions of Alexandria. Plautus, it is true, was left to the tender mercies of actors for fifty years after his death: but Plautus is an exceptional instance. The other Roman classics suffered little till the waves of barbarism swept over the Empire and texts began to be copied by men who dimly understood, or were grossly ignorant of the language which they were copying. The principles of Recension and Emendation have been developed to deal with this species of corruption, and on the whole they have dealt so successfully with it that the texts of the great authors, such as Vergil and Horace, may be taken as trustworthy representatives of the original autographs.

These methods were transferred to the Greek classics where the problem is different. At first sight it seems an easier problem since it is acknowledged on all sides that Greek texts suffered less than Latin at the hands of copyists. The East was never completely submerged beneath the waves of barbarism that overwhelmed the West. Manuscripts were often copied by stupid and ill-educated men, but never by men who were altogether ignorant of the meaning of what they wrote, since down to the latest times in Byzantine history the language spoken was the lineal, if degenerate, descendant of the language of the great classics. It is true that there was an infiltration of base forms and constructions,

but this is an evil that was never deliberately inflicted and consequently has not penetrated below the surface of the text. Through the labours of critics such as Cobet it has been removed. But in detecting the evil such critics were prone to exaggerate it and conjured up the phantom of a Byzantine schoolmaster or *magistellus* (as they term him) who had wilfully transmuted the gold that he received into his own baser metal. It is now recognized, however, that with the exception of the philologists of the time of the Palaeologi (13th–15th centuries), who represent a Revival of Learning in Greece analogous to the Renaissance in Italy, and who like the Italian Humanists honestly but unsuccessfully endeavoured to improve their texts with the inadequate methods of their time, the Byzantines have handed down without irretrievable loss the trust that they received (*v.* p. 43). But even when all Byzantine accretions are cleared away the textual critic by no means necessarily finds himself in touch with a sound tradition which goes back to the original authors. All such inquiries begin in Byzantium, as Wilamowitz says, and end in Alexandria. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to form an estimate of the work done by the Alexandrines, by considering the material with which they had to deal and the extent to which the results which they obtained have survived. Such a survey falls into four main periods:

1. The Pre-Alexandrine period.
2. The period of the first Alexandrine scholars and of their successors, which may be taken to extend from 322 B.C. to the reign of Hadrian A.D. 117.
3. The period from the second century A.D. up to the beginning of the present manuscript tradition in the ninth century A.D.
4. The Renaissance under the Palaeologi, A.D. 1261–1453.

I. *The Pre-Alexandrine Period.*

The literature of early times in Greece was not composed in order to be read. It was composed for recitation in public or in private and consisted essentially of the spoken word. Even when

it was not imaginative literature but had a scientific or philosophic purpose, it was written as an aid to memory in verse and not in prose. Prose writings, however, when they appear in Ionia, show a like origin and aim, as can be seen from the terms ἱστορία and λόγος. The historian or philosopher does not write a book and entrust a well-defined text to the pupil. He delivers orally the result of his 'Research' or his 'Argument', and the pupil may take it down in writing if he choose. The author provides the subject-matter, but the 'book', so far as it can be called a book, is written by the pupils. Another early name for such treatises—ὑπόμνημα, an 'aid to memory'—betrays clearly their origin. It is obvious that literature must have a very precarious existence under such conditions. The Elegy, the Song, and the Lampoon pass from mouth to mouth, and either die or are changed to suit a fresh audience. The more complex lyric poems of a Pindar or a Bacchylides were sung by professional choirs in various cities, but they were not read for pleasure since a large part of the pleasure that they gave came from the music to which they were set. Even the most popular of all the forms of literature—the Epic—only survives because it served to profit the powerful guilds of Rhapsodists. Similarly the prose ὑπόμνημα, if it is preserved at all, survives in an amorphous condition analogous to that of lecture notes passed on from one generation of pupils to another and plagiarized by all as they become teachers in their turn. It is to this early period that the loss of the works of such writers as Arion, Terpander, and Lasos must be ascribed—losses which later ages attempted to repair by forgeries. And here too must be sought an explanation of such a collection of prose treatises as that which is still extant under the name of the physician Hippocrates (circ. 430 B.C.).

Up to the end of the sixth century B. C. Greek literature is in this state of ceaseless flux, and is exposed to all the dangers of a tradition that is practically oral. And then the change comes swiftly and suddenly with the birth of a new form of literature, not local nor occasional nor professional as the older forms had

been, but Pan-Hellenic in its appeal, although it sprang from a single city-state. This new form was Attic Tragedy, which never lost the hold which it rapidly obtained over the Greek race in all quarters of the ancient world. The enthusiasm for Tragedy created a reading public, since but few Greeks could hope to see the masterpieces of the great dramatists performed in Athens. Thus an impulse was given to the production of books which ends in the growth towards the end of the fifth century of an organized book trade with its centre in Athens.

The demand for books was not without its influence upon the older literature, which was still in the state of flux and precarious transmission that has been described. Here the new enthusiasm acted like a chemical reagent which precipitates what previously was held in solution. Much had perished, and was still to perish, before it could be rescued by the learning of Ionia and Alexandria, but for a time a halt was called in the progress towards annihilation or decay, since the educated public became accustomed to regard written texts as a permanent source of pleasure and not merely as an aid to memory.

During the fifth century and even later books were still regarded as luxuries which could not be procured without some trouble. It is clear that they were an article of commerce in the time of Socrates, since he alludes in Plat. *Apol.* 26 D to the purchase of some of the works of Anaxagoras.[1] By degrees private persons began to collect them, and contemporary references are found to libraries belonging to Euripides, Euclides, and Euthydemus. But such collections must have been small in extent, to judge by the surprise which Socrates expresses on hearing that his friend Euthydemus possesses a complete copy of the works of Homer (Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2. 10), and must have consisted largely of privately made copies procured at considerable cost. Even the tragedies of Euripides, the most popular of the dramatists, cannot have been in the hands of large numbers

[1] Cf. also Aristoph. *Au.* 1288 *κἄπειτ' ἂν ἅμα κατῆραν ἐς τὰ βιβλία*: Eupolis, Fr. 304 (Kock) *οὗ τὰ βιβλί' ὤνια*: and Xen. *Anab.* vii. 5. 14, where an export trade in books is implied.

of the Syracusans, or else the Athenians taken prisoners after the failure of the Sicilian expedition would not have won the favour of their captors by their recitations from his works. Perhaps a glimpse at the methods by which the works of popular authors were distributed at this period is afforded by the gibe levelled at Hermodorus, a pupil of Plato, who was taunted with turning trader and 'travelling in' the Master's Dialogues—λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται. It passed into currency as a proverb, and is explained by the paroemiographer Zenobius, v. 6: ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος ἀκροατὴς γέγονε τοῦ Πλάτωνος καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συντεθειμένους λογισμοὺς κομίζων εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπώλει. In other words, there was no organized medium of distribution, but the private traveller as well as the travelling merchant would take with him a few copies of a new author on the chance that they would interest his distant friends or customers. If they required further copies would have to make them for themselves.

There is no doubt that the deep-seated corruptions in the texts of many of the earlier Greek authors belong to this period of privately made copies. Some idea of the form of these copies may be gained from the Berlin *Timotheos* and the Dublin *Antiope* which belong to the fourth and third century respectively. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the habits of the ordinary scribe had changed within so short an interval and they may be taken as evidence of the general features of a book of the fifth century. They present a text written in broad columns, in a continuous uncial or rather monumental script without any divisions to indicate words or metre and without any system of punctuation to indicate the sense beyond an occasional paragraph to mark off the larger sections. Such books correspond very closely in form to the inscriptions of the time, and the reader in either case was left with only the raw material or γράμματα which he had to analyse for himself into words and sentences. It is obvious how such an original might be perverted in copying, even were the copyist an educated man such as Cephisophon, the slave of Euripides. The risk of corruption would be infinitely greater when the copy was made

by an uneducated mechanic who copied letter for letter, like a lapidary carving an inscription, without troubling to seize the gist of what he wrote. There is no doubt that by the middle of the fourth century the texts of many authors had become uncertain. Bad copies were common, although trustworthy copies were still to be had. Tragedy suffered from the alterations made by actors or by the literary adapters employed by theatrical entrepreneurs. There is direct evidence of this towards the close of the century. In 330 B. C. the orator Lycurgus carried a decree to the effect that an official copy of the works of the three great Tragedians should be preserved in the public archives, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις (Plutarch, *Lives of the Ten Orators*, p. 841 F)—'and the town clerk was ordered to read it over to the actors' in order that they might bring their texts into agreement with it. There is no reason to suppose that the text of this official copy (which afterwards came into the possession of the Alexandrine Library) was founded upon a collation of existing manuscripts. It was doubtless the best copy that the booksellers of the time could supply.

It is to this period that the mutilation of such plays as the *Septem* of Aeschylus and the *Heraclidae* of Euripides belongs. To it also belongs such bad lines as οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστ' ἀλγεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτης ἄτερ in Sophocles *Antig.* 4, τήνδ' ἀλιπαρῆ τρίχα in Soph. *El.* 451, and such interpolations as φιλέοντι δὲ Μοῖσαι in Pindar *Olymp.* ii. 28. The length to which corruption of this kind could go is best seen in the Petrie papyrus of the *Phaedo*, which belongs to the third century. A few instances will serve as illustrations:

68 A.	*Petrie Papyrus.*	*MS. Tradition.*
	ἢ ἀνθρωπίνων μὲν παιδικῶν	ἢ ἀνθρωπίνων μὲν παιδικῶν
	ἢ γυναικῶν ἢ παίδων ἕνεκα	καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ υἱέων
	ἀποθανόντων πολλοὶ ἑκόντες	ἀποθανόντων πολλοὶ δὴ ἑκόντες
	ἠθέλησαν εἰς Ἅιδου ἐλθεῖν.	ἠθέλησαν εἰς Ἅιδου μετελθεῖν.

where ἕνεκα is a mere interpolation to make the construction easier than the genitive absolute.

68 E.

ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει τοῦτο ὅμοιον τὸ πάθος τοι ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνδραποδώδη σωφροσύνην.	ἀλλ' ὅμως αὐτοῖς συμβαίνει τούτῳ ὅμοιον τὸ πάθος τὸ περὶ ταύτην τὴν εὐήθη σωφροσύνην.

83 C.

περὶ οὗ ἅμ μάλιστα τοῦτο πάσχει, μάλιστα δὲ εἶναι τοῦτο, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον.	περὶ ὃ ἂν μάλιστα τοῦτο πάσχῃ, τοῦτο ἐναργέστατόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἀληθέστατον, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον.

It cannot be doubted that many texts were exposed to corruption of this kind in the fourth century, and that the scholarship of the time afforded them no protection. Such learning as existed was the learning of the schoolmaster and the sophist. The schoolmaster was content to explain the 'glosses' or difficult words in a text. The explanations were often ridiculous enough, e.g. τοῖος explained as meaning 'good', τόσον as meaning 'a body'. A collection of similar blunders will be found in Lehrs' *De Aristarchi studiis Homericis*, p. 36. Such learning was not likely to preserve a text. The sophist, on the other hand, sought for the ethical significance of a passage rather than for any philological interpretation. 'The great aim of education', says Protagoras in Plato's dialogue, 339 A, 'is περὶ ἐπῶν δεινὸν εἶναι· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λεγόμενα οἷόν τ' εἶναι συνιέναι ἃ τε ὀρθῶς πεποίηται καὶ ἃ μή, i. e. to distinguish between good poetry and bad from the point of view of the moralist.

It is evident, therefore, that the accuracy of texts was seriously threatened, if the mischief already done were not arrested by the growth of a school of philology and criticism. But for her political misfortunes in the fourth century Athens might have proved as eminent in this as in all other departments of the intellect. The promise of such a movement can be seen in Aristotle's many-sided activity. He was the first to collect a large library. But his immediate successors were interested in history rather than in philology. The impulse towards the scientific study of literature was not destined to come from Athens. Neither did it come from Alexandria in the first place, but from Ionia.

After the death of Alexander the Great there seems to have been a reaction against the Athenian culture of which he was the champion. In their dislike of Athens the Ionians revived the interest in pre-Attic writers such as Pindar and the other Lyric poets. During the last half of the fourth century this older literature had gone out of fashion in Athens. The Lyric poets are not represented in the library described by Alexis in his comedy the *Linos*. Neither can they have been much in Aristotle's mind when he framed his theory of μίμησις as an explanation of poetry in general, since it hardly affords a satisfactory explanation of Lyric poetry. They were no longer read, but had passed away along with the spirit of the heroic age of Marathon and Salamis to which they belonged. The revival of this older literature—Epic, Lyric, and Elegiac—gave rise to two movements which spread beyond the land of their origin and reach their culminating point in Alexandria. On the one hand, a fresh impulse is given to a creative literature written in the old forms and dialects which had been disused for so long. On the other hand, the science of philology and criticism is brought into being, since the old literature required to be explained before it could be fully appreciated. The new science develops upon Ionian soil into the school of Pergamum,[1] but reaches a very different and far higher development in Alexandria, whither it was transplanted by men such as Zenodotus of Ephesus who, like many of his successors, was a man of letters as well as a scholar. It is of the first importance to consider the methods employed by the Alexandrines and the results to which they led.

[1] The history of scholarship at Pergamum is involved in obscurity. Much valuable work appears to have been done on prose authors such as the Attic Orators, and there is evidence of standard copies of poetic writers such as Aristophanes which are Pergamene in origin. *Vide* Venetian scholia on *Aues* 1508 ἐν τοῖς Ἀττιλίοις εὗρον σκιάδειον καὶ ἐν τῷ παλαιῷ τῷ ἐμῷ. But scholarship was soon subordinated to philosophy and sank into the quicksands of Stoic speculations. For the influence of the Pergamene School at Rome *v.* Leo, *Plaut. Forschungen*, p. 35.(1912).

II. *The Alexandrine scholars and their immediate successors.*

The Ptolemies had gathered through their agents a heterogeneous mass of manuscripts which were preserved in the two libraries at Alexandria, the Brucheum and the Serapeum. The early scholars had before them the Herculean labour of reducing these collections to order. They had first to construct a catalogue. This was a complicated task since it involved inquiry into the authenticity of works that were currently attributed to distinguished names. The first catalogue to be published was by Callimachus and bore the title of πίνακες τῶν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ διαλαμψάντων καὶ ὧν συνέγραψαν.

These 'Tables' are said to have consisted of 120 books, in which the volumes catalogued were arranged in eight classes: (1) Drama, (2) Poetry (Epic, Lyric, &c.), (3) Legislation, (4) History, (6) Oratory, (7) Rhetoric, (8) Miscellaneous. Within these classes the Alexandrines undoubtedly paid most attention to the authors whose works they found more or less completely preserved. These are the authors whose works they published in standard editions (ἐκδόσεις), while they wrote separate treatises or ὑπομνήματα to elucidate difficulties in the text. In all probability these are the authors arranged by Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus in κανόνες, or 'Lists', which are not to be regarded as arbitrary selections made from a large mass of authors whose works had survived in their entirety, but simply as 'Lists' of the authors in each class whose works had survived in sufficient bulk to enable them to be chosen as typical representatives of their class. The Alexandrines, therefore, recognize five Tragedians, because five and no more survived apart from isolated plays; nine Lyric poets, because there were only nine that were still current—ἐπράττοντο, to use the phrase of a later age. Minor poets, such as Praxilla of Sicyon or Telesilla of Argos, may have existed in the library, but they were not among the πραττόμενοι, i. e. they were not in the hands of readers. It is important to bear this in mind so as not to do the Alexandrines

the injustice of thinking that they neglected some of their treasures after they had rescued them from oblivion. It is obvious on the contrary that they preserved every fragment [1] on which they could lay their hands, though they were wise enough to apply their energy in quarters where it would produce most effect. The main interest of these scholars was in poetry. How far they edited the prose authors is uncertain. The evidence is incomplete, and how dangerous it is to assert dogmatically that they neglected them is shown by the recent discovery in Egypt of a papyrus fragment referring to a previously unknown commentary on Herodotus by Aristarchus (Grenfell and Hunt, *Amherst Pap.* ii. 3. 12).

In no single instance has their work survived in its original form, and it is necessary to argue backwards from the indications preserved in later writers in order to gain an idea of the methods which they employed. Apart from scattered notices the best evidence of their work is found in the Venetian scholia to Homer, which contain excerpts from four treatises. The subscription in the MS. A (Cod. Venetus, 454 of the tenth century) is as follows: *παράκειται τὰ Ἀριστονίκου σημεῖα καὶ τὰ Διδύμου περὶ τῆς Ἀρισταρχείου διορθώσεως, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἰλιακῆς προσῳδίας Ἡρωδιανοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Νικάνορος περὶ στιγμῆς.* Of these Aristonicus and Didymus (both contemporary with Strabo, 64 B. C.—A. D. 19) preserved important fragments of the learning of Aristarchus upon Homer, together with references to the work of his predecessors, Zenodotus and Aristophanes. The work of these men upon Homer may fairly be taken to illustrate the principles upon which they worked in dealing with other texts.

The early critics in modern times (e. g. Wolf) laid stress on the defects of these scholars rather than upon their merits. Both will be apparent from a brief survey of their method.

Their first aim was to clear the text of the interpolations which defaced it in many copies. In detecting such interpolations they

[1] There is interesting evidence of this in Aristoph. *Nubes*, 967, where the scholiast in discussing the quotation *τηλέπορόν τι βόαμα* remarks *φασὶ δὲ μὴ εὑρίσκεσθαι ὅτου ποτέ ἐστιν· ἐν γὰρ ἀποσπάσματι ἐν τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ εὑρεῖν Ἀριστοφάνη.*

relied (1) on the external authority of manuscripts, (2) on the internal evidence afforded by the text before them or by other parts of the author's work.

These internal tests may be roughly classed under four headings:

(1) Lines which do not suit the immediate context in which they occur, because they are repetitions of lines which are found elsewhere, or because they weaken its emphasis or bring it into conflict with other parts of the poem.

(2) Lines which do not suit the *Persons* to whom they are applied.

(3) Lines which do not suit the *Antiquities* of the poem and import anachronisms into the Heroic Age.

(4) Lines which do not suit the *Language* normally employed by the poet.

The last two are in every way legitimate tests which were employed with admirable results by Aristophanes and Aristarchus. They required a greater command of learning than the earlier critics such as Zenodotus possessed. Of the first two the second is wholly valueless, but has a historical explanation; while the first opens the door to much criticism that is based only on personal opinion or prejudice.

A few concrete instances will best explain the success and the failure of these canons of criticism.

(1) Zenodotus rejects Π 677 and alters Π 666 to

καὶ τότ' ἄρ' ἐξ Ἴδης προσέφη Ζεὺς ὃν φίλον υἱόν

because he can find no indication as to how Apollo reaches Ida from the plain of Troy.

In Δ 88, where Athene is referred to:

Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι.
εὗρε Λυκάονος υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε—

he wishes to read only

Πάνδαρον ἀντίθεον διζημένη, εὗρε δὲ τόνδε.

a violent and unjustifiable alteration based apparently on his dis-

like to the repetition of the verb εὑρεῖν in two successive lines. Aristarchus is not free from similar faults. In Λ 514–15

> ἰητρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων
> ἰούς τ' ἐκτάμνειν ἐπί τ' ἤπια φάρμακα πάσσειν.

he rejects the second line on the ground that μεμείωκε τὴν ἔμφασιν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀθετεῖν εἴωθε.

In A 442

> ὦ Χρύσῃ, πρό μ' ἔπεμψεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων
> παῖδά τε σοὶ ἀγέμεν, Φοίβῳ θ' ἱερὴν ἑκατόμβην
> ῥέξαι ὑπὲρ Δαναῶν, ὄφρ' ἱλασόμεσθα ἄνακτα—

he rejects the third line as pleonastic (περισσόν). It can be spared if ἀγέμεν be taken as the verb common to παῖδα and ἑκατόμβην.

(2) The charge of τὸ ἀπρεπές, or incompatibility with the character of the person to whom the line applies, leads to extraordinary results.

In Γ 424 the goddess Aphrodite places a seat for the mortal Helen to sit upon. Zenodotus rejects the line on the ground of ἀπρέπεια: Ἀπρεπὲς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐφαίνετο τὸ τῇ Ἑλένῃ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην δίφρον βαστάζειν.

Such caprices of criticism belong only to the infancy of the study. Aristarchus is obviously uneasy when he rejects a verse on these grounds; e. g. in ζ 244 Nausicaa prays

> αἲ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴη
> ἐνθάδε ναιετάων, καί οἱ ἄδοι αὐτόθι μίμνειν.

Aristarchus obelizes them on the ground that δοκοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀπρεπεῖς παρθένῳ εἶναι καὶ ἀκόλαστοι. But he has doubt as to whether the first may not be genuine because he found the line imitated in so early a poet as Alcman who puts the words Ζεῦ πάτερ εἰ γὰρ ἐμὸς πόσις εἴη into the mouths of a chorus of maidens. He has no hesitation in rejecting some of Zenodotus's excisions. In Γ 424 mentioned above he at once cuts at the root of the objection by remarking that Aphrodite has taken upon herself the semblance of an old woman, and suits her actions to the character that she is sustaining.

Subjective criticism of this kind was not so unnatural at this

early period. It was partly inherited from the sophistic method of interpretation which has already been described, and partly arose from the inability of men who were living the complex life which the court of the Ptolemies had introduced into Alexandria to understand the simplicity of Homer. There is no reason to believe that this vice of method affects their treatment of other authors.

(3) An excellent instance of the use which Aristarchus makes of his knowledge of Homeric antiquities is seen in Θ 185. Hector addresses his horses:

> Ξάνθε τε καὶ σὺ Πόδαργε καὶ Αἴθων Λάμπε τε δῖε,
> νῦν μοι τὴν κομιδὴν ἀποτίνετον—

The first line is athetized by Aristarchus on the ground that Homer never mentions a four-horse chariot, and because the verb in the dual is out of place. Furthermore, the names of the horses betray the hand of an interpolator who has taken them from T 400 and Ψ 295.

(4) Of his knowledge of linguistic usage an instance may be taken from K 408 where there were two readings:

> πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαί and
> πῶς δαὶ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαί.

Aristarchus chose the latter out of respect for Homeric usage (τὸ ἔθιμον τοῦ ποιητοῦ), which is against the article in this sense, while it sanctions the use of δαί after an interrogative particle.

Then remains the question how far the Alexandrines introduced their own conjectures in defiance of the manuscript tradition. Here an increase of caution came with increasing knowledge. Zenodotus was notoriously rash, e. g. Π 93:

> μή τις ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο θεῶν ἀειγενετάων
> ἐμβήῃ· μάλα τούς γε φιλεῖ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
> ἀλλὰ πάλιν τρωπᾶσθαι, ἐπὴν φάος ἐν νηέσσι
> θήῃς, τοὺς δέ τ' ἐᾶν πεδίον κάτα δηριάασθαι.

For these lines, on the ground that they are unsuitable to the gods, Zenodotus substituted the single line:

> μή σ' ἀπογυμνωθέντα λάβῃ κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ

upon which Dionysius Thrax remarks that he might as well have read δάκῃ for λάβῃ!

Aristophanes is no less rash at times. In K 349:

> ὣς ἄρα φωνήσαντε παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἐν νεκύεσσι
> κλινθήτην

why the dual? he asks. Odysseus is the only person that has spoken. Accordingly he inserts a verse of his own:

> [ὣς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε βοὴν ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης,
> ἐλθόντες δ' ἑκάτερθε] παρὲξ ὁδοῦ—

Aristarchus, on the other hand, was considered over-cautious. In I 222 the envoys to Achilles had already taken food,—if they take it again it must be from a desire not to offend Achilles. He believed therefore that instead of ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο the proper reading was ἐδητύος ἅψ ἐπάσαντο. But respect for the manuscript tradition made him refuse to alter the text—ὑπὸ περιττῆς εὐλαβείας οὐδὲν μετέθηκεν, ἐν πολλαῖς οὕτως εὑρὼν φερομένην τὴν γραφήν.

The essence of this textual method—when once the idiosyncrasies of the earlier scholars are swept away—lies in the respect paid to manuscript tradition. This becomes the watchword of the best scholarship of the ancient world till the times of Hadrian and even later. Phrases such as ἡ παράδοσις οἶδεν or οὐκ οἶδεν: οὐκ ἔχει οὕτως τὰ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως (i. e. the traditional text), are typical of the best critics down to Herodian. Herodian can even take Aristarchus to task for violating his own principles, e. g. on Φ 162 διελέγχει ἡ παράδοσις τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον. Strabo, Galen, Jerome, and later writers show how sound an instrument of criticism had been forged by the early scholars. None of them had such a genius as Lachmann, but they were as well able as Bekker to construct a trustworthy text. If manuscripts were bad they had to make the best of them. But where they had the choice there is no doubt that they did not choose the worst.

It is at first sight strange that their treatment had hardly any appreciable effect upon the traditional text or vulgate of Homer, while there is every reason to believe that it vitally affected the fortunes of other classical texts. This is to be explained by the

unique position which Homer held in the Greek world long before his text came into the hands of the Alexandrines. Other writers (e.g. the Tragedians) appeared in collective editions for the first time in Alexandria. And such editions tended to become the standard texts for the future. But there was already a standard text of Homer,—the ancient vulgate into which the poems had crystallized during the early part of the fifth century under the conditions which have already been described. It was a text with faults which the Alexandrines successfully detected, but with all its faults it was readable and served the purpose of the general public of readers who then, as now, cared little for the accuracy of the texts which they used, provided such texts were cheap and intelligible. The elaborate Alexandrine editions of Homer were never intended for the general public, but for the class-room. Their diacritical signs required an oral exposition in order to explain them. Hence it is that they represent the excesses of the critical methods of their authors rather than the normal application of such methods. In these works we see the professor with his pupils throwing out a suggestion that may have come to him on the spur of the moment, some hint at the truth which he divines, but cannot prove, and would not wish to set before the larger public. The normal application of the critical method is to be seen in the other texts with which the Alexandrines dealt. These were intended from the first for the general reader. Even if there were no other evidence available, the mere number of authors edited by a scholar such as Aristophanes of Byzantium, who practically codified the whole of the national poetry, would show that the text cannot have been seriously interfered with when once it had been elicited from the best manuscripts.

The scholars of the next fifty years after the death of Aristarchus carried on the tradition of the Alexandrian school. They completed outlying portions of their predecessors' work upon the poets, e.g. the text of Sophron and Epicharmus was revised by Apollodorus of Athens (circ. 150 B.C.). There is no doubt, however, that the scholarship of this period is on its best side

assimilative rather than original, while on its worst side it shows a tendency to prefer the curiosities of learning. There were trustworthy texts upon the shelves of the Alexandrine libraries. A demand now springs up for popular editions with marginal commentaries; for grammars, lexica, and handbooks to metre and antiquities. This demand was satisfied by the labours of such men as Ammonius, Dionysius Thrax, Didymus Chalcenterus, and Theon, the first commentator on the Alexandrine poets. The limited outlook of such men and their lack of independent judgement can be seen in such portions of their work as still survive. A striking instance is afforded by the newly discovered scholia by Didymus on the Philippics of Demosthenes (edited by H. Diels and W. Schubart, Berlin, 1904). On the eleventh Philippic (known under the title *πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν Φιλίππου*) Didymus remarks that it seems natural to conjecture that the speech is a cento made up of other speeches of Demosthenes. Some authorities, however, state that it is really the work of Anaximenes of Lampsacus, and that it is to be found word for word in the seventh book of his History of Philip (*ὑποτοπήσειε δ' ἄν τις οὐκ ἀπὸ σκοποῦ συμπεφορῆσθαι τὸ λογίδιον ἔκ τινων Δημοσθένους πραγματειῶν ἐπισυντεθέν. καὶ εἰσὶν οἳ φασιν Ἀναξιμένους εἶναι τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ τὴν συμβουλήν, νῦν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν ὀλίγου δεῖν γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς ἐντετάχθαι.* Col. 11. 7). No modern scholar could find such a statement in his authorities without perceiving its importance for the criticism of the speech, and without attempting to substantiate it or refute it. Didymus, however, notes it as a curiosity which he found in some early *ὑπόμνημα* (written perhaps by Hermippus the Callimachean, who is known to have worked at the text of Demosthenes), and preserves it without further inquiry. This temper of mind is common to the post-Alexandrine school and their Roman imitators. It is seen in Theon's work upon Apollonius Rhodius, where his concern is rather to dilate upon the *ἱστορίαι* in the poem than upon the text, and it infects the work of Pliny the Elder, Valerius Maximus, and Aulus Gellius.

III. *From the Reign of Hadrian to the Ninth Century A.D.*

The reign of Hadrian (117–138) may be taken as the starting point of the decay in Greek literature and Greek scholarship which is in full progress by the reign of Septimius Severus (193–211). Outwardly it is a period of good government and of great material prosperity, but the spirit of ancient Greece, which had struggled so long against the misrule of the Roman oligarchy and had revived for the time under the wisely ordered system of Augustus, becomes gradually crushed under the centralized administration of the later empire. It was an age of material aims, and these aims soon menaced the integrity of the older literature. Men could no longer appreciate or even understand the ideals of the past, which were embodied in works which breathed the spirit of ancient freedom. For a time, indeed, the classics survive as a fashion among educated men. But the public which could find pleasure in them, and in the archaistic imitations of them that were produced by a Lucian and an Alciphron slowly passes away. Even while such a public still exists it is clear that its range of reading is severely contracted. Some authors gradually disappear (e.g. the Tragedians, with the exception of the three; Comedy except Aristophanes; and the Lyric poets except Pindar). Those that remain do not survive entire but in selections or in anthologies,[1] which rapidly lead to the extinction of all parts of an author's work that they do not include.

The works of Pindar were arranged by Aristophanes of Byzantium in seventeen books: the ὕμνοι, παιᾶνες, and διθύραμβοι in six; the προσόδια in two; the παρθένια in three; the ὑπορχήματα in two; the ἐγκώμια, θρῆνοι, and ἐπινίκια in four. Plutarch knows the poet's works in this complete edition, and when Lucian quotes from the first Ode of Pindar he means the first of the Hymns.

There is no doubt that the Epinicia with their personal

[1] The earliest evidence of an anthology is found in Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, No. III. 1, pp. 13–14. The papyrus belongs to the third century A.D., and contains excerpts from Epicharmus and the *Antiope* of Euripides.

references to the Sicilian princes were by far the most popular of the poet's works in antiquity. Hence in the second century, perhaps in the reign of Antoninus Pius, some unknown grammarian separated them from the Alexandrine corpus and published them with a commentary. From this separate edition the modern text of Pindar is descended. Somewhat earlier than this (circ. A. D. 100) a certain Symmachus had made a selection from the plays of Aristophanes. A similar selection was made from the plays of the three Tragedians. Its original compass cannot now be determined, but it soon came to consist of ten plays from Euripides (*Hecuba, Orestes, Phoenissae, Hippolytus, Medea, Alcestis, Andromache, Rhesus, Troades, and Bacchae*); of seven from Aeschylus and seven from Sophocles. Neither the author of the selections is known nor the exact date at which he made them. Apparently they are from one hand since they betray a definite plan. The *Septem*, the *Oedipus*, and the *Phoenissae* are evidently chosen in order to be read side by side; other plays are chosen for their easiness (e.g. *Prometheus*, *Persae*); others because they form a good introduction to Homer (e.g. *Ajax*) or a continuation of the story of Troy (e.g. *Hecuba*). A rough inference as to its date can be drawn from the fact that the collection in its present form was in current use soon after the time of the sophist Philostratus of Lemnos, who lived under Septimius Severus (193-211). He is the last author who quotes from plays that are not included in it, such as the *Oeneus* and *Palamedes* of Euripides.

Selections such as these were made for the school, and for the few cultivated readers who did not lose all interest in literature when they left the school for active life. For both classes of readers a marginal commentary was now essential, and such commentaries consisted partly of extracts from the learning of the Alexandrines and partly of paraphrases. The paraphrase was now a necessity since the Greek language was slowly changing in syntax and in vocabulary. Such commentaries and paraphrases are of gradual growth, and the scholars who compiled them are either unnamed or merely names.

There is evidence of a commentary on Aristophanes by Symmachus which lies behind the existing scholia. The scholia to the Tragedians point to an origin earlier than the third century, since it is only rarely that authors later than that period are cited in them. It should be borne in mind that such works were essentially compilations from the separate ὑπομνήματα to separate plays that were in existence long before them. They were rough variorum editions, and not ordered commentaries written upon a definite plan.

Such selections and commentaries came from the less ambitious scholars of the time. The more ambitious devote their energies to collecting the learning of the previous generations into grammars, handbooks, and lexica. Scholarship ceases to be discursive and becomes systematic. Apollonius Dyscolus is the founder of systematic syntax. His son Aelius Herodianus covers the whole field of research upon Accent, Quantity, Orthography, and Accidence. The same method and aim is to be seen in the treatises of Heliodorus and Hephaestion upon Metre, of Zenobius on Proverbs, of Herennius Philo upon Synonyms, of Aelius Dionysius and Pausanias the Syrian on Attic usage, and in the work of industrious epitomators, lexicographers, and antiquarians such as Juba King of Mauretania, Harpocration, Julius Pollux, Pamphilus, and Diogenian. On its worst side their work is unprogressive, dull, and pedantic. But it was founded upon the sound basis of Alexandrine scholarship, and its very pedantry had the saving grace of preserving with unreasoning fidelity what had been received.

During the succeeding centuries until the ninth, when the present manuscript tradition begins, the Greek classics suffer loss rather than serious corruption. The great losses, as has been explained in the preceding chapter, occurred in all probability before the papyrus roll was finally superseded in the fifth century A.D. by the parchment codex. With the invention of a practically indestructible form of book, literature was no longer at the mercy of the material upon which it was written, and was not necessarily doomed to extinction during a period of neglect.

That losses occurred even after the introduction of the vellum codex cannot be doubted. The anthologies which, it has been seen, begin as early as the third century, continue to act as a corrosive, and take an ever-widening range, as can be seen from what is known or survives of the work of such men as Proclus, Sopatros of Apamea, Helladios of Egypt, and Joannes Stobaeus, who belong to the fifth and sixth centuries. Losses must also have occurred from sheer neglect during the eighth century—the darkest period in the history of the East, which continues till the revival of letters begun by the Patriarch Photius, and by Arethas Bishop of Caesarea and others circa A.D. 850.

But throughout this long period of eight centuries the classical texts were not extensively interpolated or reconstructed. An indication of this has always been afforded by the best manuscripts, which are never without traces of the ancient learning. Even where the manuscripts bear witness to a revision by Byzantine hands, it is clear that such a revision was not a drastic reconstruction. An instance of this is to be seen in the Urbinas of Isocrates, which in the Busiris represents such a revision by a certain Heliconius ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις Θεοδώρῳ καὶ Εὐσταθίῳ. All that these men have done is to correct their text by the best and oldest manuscript available, since the text as it stands shows that ancient rules are still observed, e.g. ἐκεῖνος is always written except in the phrase ἢ 'κεῖνος. What is only indicated in the manuscripts is proved beyond all question by the papyri, which show that texts as they stand in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries are substantially the same as they were in the second and third.

IV. *The Period from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries.*

Two centuries before the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks occurred another revival in literary studies which is associated with the House of the Palaeologi, who reigned from 1261–1453. The most famous names in this Byzantine move-

ment are those of Planudes, Manuel Moschopulus, Thomas Magister, Theodorus Metochites, and Demetrius Triclinius, all of whom flourished during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. There is, however, no doubt that behind many late Greek manuscripts (e.g. Parisini B and C of Aristophanes, which belong to the sixteenth century) lies the work of some Byzantine scholar of this type who has remained anonymous. Such men wrote commentaries, school books, lexica, handbooks to metre and antiquities, as well as editions of the text of most of the greater Greek classics. They were scholars and not ordinary scribes, and there can be little doubt that both in what they effected and in what they failed to effect they were closely analogous to the scholars of the Italian Renaissance. Through the interest which they aroused for the ancient literature, they were the means of preserving the valuable manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries without which modern scholarship would be helpless; but as textual critics they were too ambitious and violent.

Unlike the scholars of the earlier Greek renaissance of the ninth century, they laid a heavy hand on the texts which they edited. Occasionally they were right, as were the Italian scholars, but for the most part they defaced the text with trivial emendations based upon their own inadequate theories of metre and language. Their methods can easily be studied in the older texts of Sophocles which were based on the recension of Triclinius (preserved in Paris. 2711, and other manuscripts): e.g. in *O. T.* 507 *φανερὰ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πτερόεσσ' ἦλθε κόρα*, he omits *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* as otiose, though he leaves the line hopelessly unmetrical: Ibid. 943 *πῶς εἶπας; ἦ τέθνηκε Πόλυβος γέρων;* he heals the metre by the feeble device of reading [*που*] *Πόλυβος*.

These texts were the first imported into Italy because they were the most accessible, and for many centuries they continued in use as the vulgate text. It is well to bear in mind when lamenting the fall of Constantinople, that if that disaster had never happened or had been long delayed, such texts might have proved finally victorious to the lasting detriment of Greek

literature. Such detriment indeed has been suffered by some authors, as can be seen from those parts of Xenophon and Euripides which depend upon fourteenth century manuscripts.

Thus the problem of textual criticism of Greek authors—when once the ground has been cleared by a proper examination and classification of the manuscript authorities—becomes largely an inquiry into the condition of texts in the period of the Antonines, and into the circumstances which led to that condition.

It is difficult at the present time to assess the permanent value of recent inquiries that have been made upon these lines. As has been pointed out already, each author presents a different problem, and much work still requires to be done in editing scholia, lexica, &c. before the conditions which govern some of these problems can be ascertained. For, unless the problem be solved off-hand by the discovery in Egypt or elsewhere of some early and well-authenticated text, nothing is clearer than that the only door to the ancient text is the ancient learning. Since much of this ancient learning survives in scholia, it follows that a text with scholia is far more trustworthy than a text without scholia. Since the ancient scholars were more interested in Verse than in Prose, prose authors have on the whole suffered more corruption than the poets. A few instances of texts which are typical of their kind may be taken to illustrate these statements.

The early Elegiac poets (e.g. Solon, Phocylides, Mimnermus, Callinus, Theognis) may serve as examples of a type of literature which was neglected by the Alexandrines and their successors. This neglect was due to various causes. None of these writers were of the first class. They offered none of the difficulties of language or metre which attracted the grammarian to the works of other poets. They suffered further from the rivalry of later elegists such as Philetas and Callimachus. Their works accordingly survive for the most part only as fragments, embedded in prose authors—where they are quoted to illustrate history or philosophy—or as elegant extracts in Anthologies.

One alone of these authors—Theognis—survives in a state of

better preservation. Two books of poems are attributed to him, the first containing 1230 lines, and consisting of poems dealing with politics and morality, the second consisting of 158 lines of love poetry which survive in one manuscript only, the Mutinensis (now Parisinus Suppl. Grec. 388) belonging to the tenth century. As soon as this collection is critically examined it is clear that it contains much that cannot possibly be attributed to the poet of the sixth century B.C. Many lines belong to earlier poets or to contemporaries such as Solon, Mimnermus, Tyrtaeus, and Euenus. Many of the poems that are incorporated in it are of early date, many again are obviously imitations belonging to the fifth century. Even where the text can be attributed to Theognis himself, it shows every trace of early redaction or adaptation, since divergent versions of the same passage are often presented, the earlier in a longer form, the later shortened and modernized in language. No doubt it is the book used by Xenophon and Plato, but it is a book that has lost all resemblance to the original work of Theognis, and is a mere collection of stray pieces analogous to the prose ὑπομνήματα that passed under the name of Hippocrates. Here criticism is faced with a hopeless task in attempting the restoration of the form or language. The text has always been unprotected, and the grammarians and lexicographers give no assistance.

Far different is the condition of a text which has not been left to run wild but has been carefully edited at Alexandria and protected subsequently by a long line of scholars. An instance of such a text is to be seen in the works of Pindar. All the manuscripts of Pindar are descended from a common ancestor or archetype. They preserve a text which, though not the same in extent, has common lacunae and common corruptions. The best representatives of this text fall into two groups:

(*A*) = Ambrosianus C. 222 inf., twelfth century which includes only *Olymp.* i–xii.

(*B*) = Vaticanus 1312, twelfth century and Laurentianus 32.52, thirteenth century.

The text which results from the recension and emendation of

these manuscripts is singularly uniform. Its mistakes are not due to the Byzantine period. The paraphrase given in the scholia belongs to the second century A.D., and it is a paraphrase of the existing text, which goes back through Didymus and the older grammarians to the text of Aristophanes of Byzantium. The injury which the poems have suffered through modification of the dialect and spelling, through interpolation and other forms of corruption, belong to pre-Alexandrine times. All editors, therefore, who attempt to repair such injury on the supposition that it is of later growth are working upon wrong lines. Pindar is an exceptionally favourable instance of what can result from an inquiry into the history of a text. His poems were difficult and unique in style and form. The first fixed point in their history remains fixed, since they were copied mechanically by later ages and suffered little loss.

Few of the other great classics afford such definite results. They were more widely read than Pindar for centuries after the Alexandrine period. Hence the settlement which the Alexandrines effected in their text was always liable to be disturbed through the rivalry which sprang up between the revised Alexandrine texts and the unrevised copies circulated by the booksellers. For the time the Alexandrine texts drove out of the market the earlier 'vulgate' or 'proletariat' texts (δημώδεις). They certainly killed the extreme forms of corruption that can be seen in the Petrie *Phaedo* and in some of the so-called 'eccentric' or 'nonconformist' texts of Homer. But it must not be imagined that an Alexandrine text presented an undeviating form which only required faithful reproduction in order to preserve it. In their ὑπομνήματα or commentaries the early scholars left a record of the material on which they had based their judgement. The variant readings which they had rejected were mentioned as well as those which they accepted, and such readings soon re-entered the text, restored perhaps by subsequent editors or jotted down as marginal annotations by the educated man who read the Alexandrine commentary side by side with his text. Through this passion for collating one

manuscript with another, which is common to all ages, it is impossible for one strain of tradition to survive uncontaminated, if there are other strains to contaminate it. A text absorbs something from every incident in its history. Whether or not it is possible to reach the texts of the Alexandrines depends largely on the part played by Alexandrine scholarship in the history of a particular text. If it was the dominant influence in forming the text, it may be possible to form an adequate idea of the Alexandrine text. If there were other powerful influences in competition the attempt to recover the Alexandrine text may end only in naïve superstitions.

Roughly speaking the first aspect of the problem is presented by poetry, the second by prose.

There is no evidence that the work of the Alexandrines upon Greek poetry was ever seriously interfered with. Comedy may have suffered a little at the hands of the Atticists of the second century A.D., but Tragedy remained untouched. The limits of variation in a verse text are severely defined by the metre, while the difficulty of the language raises it above the plane of ordinary speech and demands care on the part of the scribe. If, therefore, the scholia survive to protect such a text, there is no reason why it should not represent the main features of the Alexandrine recension. This, it is now generally believed, is true of the texts of the Tragedians and Aristophanes. Where the scholia are well preserved, as in the nine annotated plays of Euripides and the seven of Aristophanes contained in the Venetus, the text is of high quality. The text of Aeschylus and Sophocles is faultier: it is preserved in late manuscripts and the scholia are mere remnants of the original corpus. The tradition is sound but there are not enough witnesses to it. The text of the unannotated plays of Euripides (i.e. the *Bacchae* and the nine plays found only in the second class of manuscripts) and of Aristophanes exhibits all the defects of a text which has passed out of the control of learning and must be dealt with, as will be seen, upon different lines of criticism.

It is far otherwise with Prose texts. The Alexandrines

expended less labour upon them than upon Poetry, and their history has in consequence been more eventful. The meanest scholar felt himself competent to revise them and the meanest scribe indulged in conscious or unconscious expansions, omissions, and emendations. There was always a rivalry between revised and unrevised copies. The latter might be either the corrupt descendants of some scholarly text, or trade copies tracing back their descent to the bad texts of the pre-Alexandrine period. There was no limit to the growth of variants such as was imposed in poetry by the metre. From time to time there is a demand for a purer text, and some scholar makes his selection from the mass of variants before him. It is as if the text were constantly endeavouring to escape from the control of learning and were as constantly recaptured. Such eclectic texts are the parents of many of the best manuscripts now in existence, e. g. the Bodleian Plato and the Paris Demosthenes. These manuscripts do not always represent separate traditions that are earlier and better than the readings given by other groups of manuscripts. They represent a text that has been normalized at some period. It is now clear from the evidence of papyri that behind all families of manuscripts (except, of course, such as present the Byzantine recensions of the fourteenth century) lies a text with an apparatus of variant readings. All manuscripts represent a selection from such a corpus of variants and one selection may be more successful than others. But though, happily, the papyri support in most cases the readings of the best family of manuscripts, yet they also recognize some of the readings found in the inferior groups. It is clear, therefore, that all readings which are not obviously late must be considered on their merits and not adopted or rejected merely because they belong to a particular group. Only where the balance of probability is equal can more weight be given to the witness who bears the best character for accuracy.

The works of Demosthenes may be taken to illustrate the condition of the better prose texts. The manuscripts in which they are preserved are of high quality, and the

text given by these manuscripts is largely confirmed by the papyri.

Some of the Orations of Demosthenes must have been published during his lifetime: others were not published till after his death. Spurious works soon passed current under his name. The first fixed point in the tradition of the text is given by the Catalogue (πίνακες) of Callimachus in which the genuine speeches were sifted out from the mass of miscellaneous speeches which bore the name of Demosthenes. There is every indication that the work of Callimachus lies behind our present tradition. Speeches which he condemned—such as the ὑπὲρ Σατύρου and the ὑπὲρ Διφίλου—have not survived, although they were recognized as genuine by good critics in antiquity. But the work of Callimachus was only a table of contents and not an edition.[1] That there was an Alexandrine edition based on the work of Callimachus is certain, though the author of it is unknown by name. This edition lies behind the present text, but it is not the only influence that lies behind the existing families of manuscripts. It is evident that there were other sources of tradition open to Didymus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and his friend Caecilius—separate editions of single speeches which traced their descent from pre-Alexandrine copies. Such copies lie behind the text of the Third Philippic where there are parallel versions of some passages, and perhaps behind the Speech on the Trierarchic Crown. The Alexandrine edition was soon contaminated by such rival texts. Its text suffered at the hands of the later Alexandrine scholars, and seems to have been mutilated through the loss of the end of the *Zenothemis*. It reigned, however, as the accepted text, sinking into deeper corruption with every century. But scholarship throughout is constantly making an effort to keep the text pure. Some such attempt seems to lie

[1] Some have thought that Callimachus' work was founded on an early edition made in Athens soon after the orator's death. But this is very improbable since speeches such as those against Phormio and Dionysodorus have their origin in this period, and could hardly have been included as genuine by an Athenian editor.

behind the tradition preserved by Harpocration and others of a recension made by a certain Atticus (ἡ τῶν Ἀττικιανῶν ἀντιγράφων ἔκδοσις), whom some critics believe to be the friend of Cicero. Another such attempt is seen in the ἀρχαία ἔκδοσις of unknown date, which is referred to by the scholiast on the *Midiana* 133 and 147. Even if these editions were still extant they would not exhibit a pure descent from the Alexandrine text, but only skilful selection from the various readings which had overlaid it. Neither is any one of the surviving manuscripts a pure descendant of any of these editions. It is a mistake to regard the Paris MS. (Σ) as a legitimate descendant of the ἀρχαία or of the Ἀττικιανά. Though it is an excellent manuscript yet it shows kinship with manuscripts of base descent. The Augustanus (A) seems to represent the corrupt vulgate; yet not entirely, since it shows traces of the good readings which are preserved in Σ. The Marcianus (F) and a Parisinus (Y) represent a frank contamination or mixture of the traditions seen in Σ and A.

Thus it is evident that no strand of the tradition ever remains by itself. From the very first they have been intertwined. The existing manuscripts of the highest class represent early attempts at a disentanglement. But the men who made these attempts, although they ejected many of the worst readings before them, may equally well have ejected good readings which have been preserved in inferior manuscripts.

Textual criticism, therefore, in authors such as Demosthenes must be largely eclectic, and a reading must not be rejected merely because it lacks the authority of the best manuscripts. To go beyond this and to dream of restoring the Alexandrine text is quixotic—at any rate, with the evidence at present available.

If modern discovery and research lead to this rather unsatisfying conclusion they teach one salutary lesson. A broad distinction must be drawn between 'protected' and 'unprotected' texts. A protected text, even though it has absorbed bad elements along with the good in the course of its history, offers only a very restricted field for the exercise of conjectural

emendation. Nothing is more significant than the fact that the one papyrus of Demosthenes which corroborates the largest number of modern conjectures is that containing the greater part of the third Epistle. The Epistles were an outlying portion of the orator's works to which the ancient scholars paid little attention. The text accordingly was unprotected and soon suffered serious corruption. Few important texts are in this condition. Among them unfortunately are the unannotated plays of Euripides. These plays either stand entirely outside the Alexandrine tradition, or more probably represent a portion of the complete edition made by Aristophanes of Byzantium, which has survived by some accident without the scholia which have grown up round the rest. Their text exhibits a uniform and undisciplined corruption, and in one instance—the *Heraclidae*—bears every trace of descent from a stage adaptation of the fourth century B.C. Such texts afford a proper field for conjectural emendation which, to paraphrase the words of Wilamowitz,[1] 'must be governed by an intimate knowledge of the author's style and of his intellectual environment and by the instinctive and imponderable qualities of scholarship, taste, feeling for language, and imagination.'

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[1] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Herakles*, i. 216.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXT OF LATIN AUTHORS IN ANCIENT TIMES

LATIN texts, with the exception of the works of the early republican writers, have from the beginning of their history been well protected by scholarship. The early republican literature was mainly dramatic, and made its appeal when it was first composed not to the reader but to the audience in the theatre.

There is no reason to believe that such works were ever 'published' in any technical sense. There was no public of readers sufficiently large to support an organized book trade such as existed later during the last century and a half of the republican period. Till about 169 B.C. the methods of transmitting texts were as unorganized in Rome as they were in Athens in the fifth century, so that the various forms of literature which existed were at the mercy of the narrow circles of educated men to whom they appealed. A technical work such as Cato's *De Agricultura* was annotated and corrected by those who used it, and their alterations tended to become embodied in the tradition of the text. Epic and Satire were less liable to alteration since they were not in constant use like a technical handbook, and, though they were not exempt from the graphical errors which are inseparable from a tradition preserved in writing, they were not exposed to the grave corruption which speedily attacked the drama. A play was written by a Roman dramatist for a special occasion, and his interest in it and his control over it ceased when he had been paid by the magistrate who was conducting the festival at which the play was produced, or by the theatrical entrepreneur (*dominus gregis*) whom the magistrate ordinarily employed as his agent. Plays generally

became the property of these agents, who revived them from time to time, and did not hesitate to recast them in form (*retractatio*) or in language so as to render them more attractive and more intelligible to a later generation of spectators.

It is convenient to take 169 B.C. as marking the beginning of a new period in the history of such early texts. It is an approximate date for the visit to Rome of the Pergamene Grammarian Crates.

'Primus igitur, quantum opinamur, studium grammaticae in urbem intulit Crates Mallotes, Aristarchi aequalis, qui missus ad senatum ab Attalo rege [*a mistake: Eumenes was king*], inter secundum et tertium bellum Punicum, sub ipsam Ennii mortem, cum regione Palatii prolapsus in cloacae foramen crus fregisset, per omne legationis simul et ualetudinis tempus plurimas acroasis subinde fecit, assidueque disseruit ac nostris exemplo fuit. Hactenus tamen imitati, ut carmina parum adhuc diuulgata, uel defunctorum amicorum uel si quorum aliorum probassent, diligentius retractarent ac legendo commentandoque ceteris nota facerent.' (Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, ii.)

This account was probably borrowed by Suetonius from Varro, who as an admirer of the Pergamene scholars may have exaggerated the influence exercised by Crates from a desire to attribute to his favourite school the impulse towards philology, which was undoubtedly felt at Rome about this time. It is not in itself improbable that the earliest Roman philology should have been of the Pergamene type, and have addressed itself to questions of authenticity and aesthetics rather than to textual criticism. But the influence of Alexandrine scholarship was not long delayed if the statement made in the late tract *De Notis* (Keil, *G. L.* vii. 533) is to be believed. The author of this tract, which describes the twenty-one diacritical signs used by the Alexandrines, has probably derived his information from a treatise by Suetonius that is now lost. He says: 'His solis in adnotationibus Ennii Lucilii et historicorum usi sunt † uarrus hennius haelius aequae † et postremo Probus qui illas in Vergilio et Horatio et Lucretio apposuit ut in Homero Aristarchus.' The corrupt names have been variously emended, but it is

generally agreed that they must include Varguntеius and L. Aelius Stilo.[1]

The influence of Alexandrine scholarship generated the idea of a standard text which was to be preserved or recovered by an appeal to the best documentary evidence available. This implies a respect for the authentic text which is as strong in Rome as it has been seen to be in Athens, and is not entirely obliterated during the worst periods of the Middle Ages, such as the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Side by side with this scientific treatment of a text is the tendency, stronger at some periods than at others, to fill in lacunae, to smooth over difficulties of thought or language in order to consult the convenience of the reader, or to satisfy the ideal of perfection which some dilettante scholar had formed. It is a tendency which is observable in all ages and in all literatures, and starts with the demand on the part of the ordinary reader for texts that are intelligible rather than scientifically accurate. In this way the popularity of a writer may militate against the purity of the text of his works. We need go no further than our own literature to see the effect which such a demand has had by producing the vulgate text of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and Defoe. No permanent harm can befall a modern text which has been corrected for the press by its author. In ancient times, however, as has been pointed out in the preceding chapter, any changes of text that become current speedily infect the tradition as a whole. The tradition accordingly may suffer serious damage unless the text is taken in hand from time to time and purified.

We shall consider briefly some of the more significant stages in the history of Latin texts, so as to illustrate the conflict between scientific and what may be termed 'vulgate' texts which was maintained till the seventh century A. D.

[1] Cf. Fronto, i. 7, p. 20: 'Contigisse quid tale M. Porcio aut Q. Ennio aut Titio poetae? quorum libri pretiosiores habentur et summam gloriam retinent si sunt a Lampadione aut Staberio aut Seruio Claudio aut Aelio emendati aut Attico aut Nepote.'

The philological movement, the beginning of which Suetonius attributes to Crates, was continued by Roman scholars and by a number of others who, to judge from their names, were Greeks. Cn. Octavius Lampadio edited the *Punic War* of Naevius, which he divided into seven books; Vargunteius worked at the *Annals* of Ennius; Archelaus and Philocomus at the satires of Lucilius. Even literary men such as L. Accius (*b.* 170 B.C.), the last of the old Tragedians, were swept into the current of the new movement. Accius dealt with Greek as well as Roman literature, and seems to have busied himself largely with the somewhat unfruitful speculations of the Pergamene school. But as he composed an index of the plays of Plautus he must have attempted the more useful task of inquiring into the authenticity of the various works attributed to the early writers. Researches on these lines, which continued right down to the great Grammarians of the Augustan period (e.g. Verrius Flaccus), resulted in the formation of a more or less scientific text. But while philologists continued to be interested in these early writers the educated public lost all taste for them towards the end of the second century B.C. The reigning influence was Greek. And if there had been no revival of interest the archaic writers would have remained merely as a field for the exercise of learning outside the purview of the ordinary man, and the oblivion which has overwhelmed them, with the exception of Plautus, would have been anticipated by several centuries. There was a revival of the national literature in the Sullan epoch, due no doubt in part to the victory of Rome in the Social war, which stimulated the national pride and soon made Latin the paramount language in Italy. This revival lasted throughout the lifetime of Cicero, who is a great admirer of the archaic writers (cf. introduction to his *De Finibus*). It survives into the early Augustan period and is unmistakable in Vergil, but it soon begins to wane, and Horace is found reverting to Greek models and expressing a contempt, that is far from good-humoured, for the archaic writers.

The immediate consequence of this Sullan revival must have been the production of 'vulgate' texts of the earlier authors.

Dramatists such as Plautus must have suffered fresh adaptation, and many of the variants which are found in the present tradition may be as old as this period; e.g. *Bacch.* 519 'Quam si ad sepulcrum mortuo *narres logos*' A: where P has *dicat iocum*, where the Greek phrase has been altered because it occasioned difficulty; or *M.G.* 1180 'exfafillato bracchio' P: 'expalliolato bracchio' A, which is not a graphical corruption, but shows the substitution of an intelligible word for one that had become obsolete.

Few texts have had a more chequered history than that of Plautus, or show more violent fluctuations. But the same influences which distorted his text begin to work sooner or later upon any text which becomes popular in an age subsequent to that in which it was written. Less harm has befallen the great writers of the last century of the Republic, because their history does not begin, so to speak, with a period of licence in which their text was exposed to irretrievable injuries. The conflict between the authentic text and 'vulgate' copies arises for all texts sooner or later, but owing to the care with which the text was published in the last century of the Republic there was always the chance of good copies surviving, to which later scholars could appeal in order to recover the original words of the author.

There is no doubt that in the last century of the Republic the standard of accuracy in texts was high, and Cicero's complaints (e. g. *Ad Att.* xiii. 23. 2, *Ad Quint. F.* iii. 6. 6 'de Latinis ⟨libris⟩ quo me uertam nescio, ita mendose et scribuntur et ueneunt') only show that the ordinary scribe did not always satisfy the demands of the scholarly reader. One proof of this respect for the authentic text of an author is to be seen in the treatment of posthumous works. They were published with scrupulous care and without additions or excisions. The unfinished poem of Lucretius was published by Cicero, and according to Jerome 'emended' by him, but it is clear from the present condition of the text that such 'emendation' cannot have done more than eliminate the obvious errors in the author's draft. There is no

trace of a revision any more than in the *Aeneid* which Varius edited (Suet. *Donat. Vita*, p. 64, Reifferscheid) by command of Augustus, 'sed *summatim emendata*, ut qui uersus etiam imperfectos si qui erant reliquerit'.

The same holds good of other posthumous works belonging to this period and to the early Empire, e. g. Cic. *De legibus*; Caesar, *Bellum Civile*; Persius; Lucan, *Pharsalia* (except i–iii); Statius, *Achilleis* and *Siluae*, Book V.

There can be little doubt that editions of the archaic writers, with the usual apparatus of Alexandrine signs, were current during the last century of the Republic. They were founded on the best documentary evidence available, and preserved, like their Alexandrine models, the evidence of those documents even when it involved the preservation of variant readings or of collateral versions of the same passage.

The demand for such editions of the later writers does not seem to have become imperative until the time of M. Valerius Probus of Beyrout, a grammarian who flourished *circa* A.D. 80. The age of Probus affords a fixed point from which to look forward and backward in the history of Roman textual criticism. The main facts concerning him are contained in Suet. *De Gramm.* xxiv:

'M. Valerius Probus, Berytius, diu centuriatum petiit, donec taedio ad studia se contulit. Legerat in prouincia quosdam ueteres libellos apud grammatistam, durante adhuc ibi antiquorum memoria, necdum abolita, sicut Romae. Hos quum diligentius repetere, atque alios deinceps cognoscere cuperet, quamuis eos contemni magisque opprobrio legentibus, quam gloriae et fructui esse animaduerteret, nihilominus in proposito mansit: multaque exempl⟨orum copia⟩ contracta (i. e. many copies which he had collected) emendare ac distinguere et adnotare curauit.'

From the passage quoted on p. 54 it will be seen that he edited Vergil, Horace, and Lucretius.

Some considerable traces of his work on Vergil are preserved in Servius, and as the history of Vergil's text is well known, it will be convenient to consider briefly what an edition like that

of Probus effected and what was the condition of the text when it called for such an edition.

Although Varius had published an authoritative and unquestionably authentic text of the *Aeneid*, two influences combined to produce a 'vulgate' text of this and of the other works by Vergil. (1) Soon after Vergil's death (19 B.C.) his poems came to form a necessary part of the curriculum in schools. Q. Caecilius Epirota, a freedman of Atticus, is known to have given lectures upon them in his school (Suet. *De Gram.* xvi. p. 112, Reiff.). The schools promoted an intensive study of the text. Questions of exegesis, of punctuation, of consistency in the use of words, would arise, which might never have suggested themselves to the ordinary reader, and their solution might often involve suggestions on the part of the master which would find their way into the pupils' text. (2) The *Aeneid* especially, owing to its incompleteness, became the prey of dilettante scholars, who were constantly tampering with the text by filling in lacunae and clearing up obscurities by minute alterations. Often they sought authority for their interpolations by maintaining that they were in the original draft but had been excised by Varius. Owing to the universal habit in antiquity of collating one manuscript with another such contaminations must speedily have affected the ordinary texts in circulation. It is against alterations such as these that Quintilian (ix. 4. 39) protests: 'Quae in ueteribus libris reperta mutare imperiti solent et, dum librariorum insectari uolunt inscientiam, suam confitentur.' (Cf. A. Gellius, xx. 6. 14, on similar corruptions in the text of Sallust.) It is very significant that Seneca appears to have read 'Audentis Fortuna iuuat, piger ipse sibi obstat' in his copy of Vergil, and Servius' commentary affords instances of other hemistichs that were similarly interpolated (e. g. *Aen.* viii. 41). The prefatory verses 'Ille ego qui quondam &c.' cannot be traced back beyond the time of Nero, when a grammarian named Nisus said 'audisse se a senioribus (i. e. that it was traditionally reported) Varium . . . primi libri correxisse principium hi suersibus demptis.' (Diehl, *Vitae Vergilianae*, p. 20.)

Yet throughout the first century scholars had been working at the text of Vergil. Three, at least, have left traces of their work in later commentaries. C. Iulius Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus, and contemporary with Vergil himself, wrote both on the *Georgics* and on the *Aeneid*, e. g. he restored *amaror* in *G.* ii. 247 for the vulgate *amaro*, on the authority of an early copy 'ex domo atque ex familia Vergilii' (A. Gell. i. 21): in *Aen.* xii. 120 for 'uelati *lino*' he read 'limo', the *limus cinctus* being an ancient sacrificial dress.

Iulius Modestus, a freedman of Hyginus, followed in his patron's footsteps. He devoted his attention largely to questions of orthography, e. g. he insisted on the use of *y* to represent the Greek *υ*.

L. Annaeus Cornutus, the tutor of Persius and Lucan, is responsible for the reading (or emendation) 'multa nocte recepit' in *Aen.* ix. 348.

These scholars are typical instances of the learning which was expended on Vergil from the very beginning. Much of it was sound and systematic, but much also must have been ill-judged, supersubtle, and desultory. If the authentic text was not to suffer serious damage and possibly be superseded by the 'vulgate' texts that were now current a thorough and systematic recension was necessary. This is what Probus effected.

From the traces of his work which still survive it is clear that he sought carefully for the best manuscripts. In the *Georgics* he is said to have used a codex corrected by Vergil himself.

> 'In primo Georgicon quem ego,' inquit, 'librum manu ipsius correctum legi, urbis per *i* litteram scripsit. Verba e uersibus eius haec sunt:
>
> urbisne inuisere, Caesar,
> terrarumque uelis curam.' (A. Gell. xiii. 21.)

In *Aen.* xii. 605 he restored the undoubtedly true and ancient reading '*floros* Lauinia crinis' which has been replaced in our surviving MSS. by 'flauos'. But he was as ready as any Alexandrine critic (cf. p. 37) to defend the tradition when he conceived it to be right; e. g. 'uadi dorso' in *Aen.* x. 303, which

he compares with 'dorso nemoris' *G.* iii. 436. These may serve as instances of what he and the best of his successors understood by Emendation. 'Distinguere', which is also attributed to him in the passage from Suetonius quoted above, refers to punctuation: e.g. in *Aen.* x. 173 he placed a comma after 'trecentos' in order to separate it from the following word 'insula'. By 'Adnotare', with which Suetonius concludes his description, is meant the application of the diacritical signs. These illustrate the conservative character of the textual criticism which Rome had inherited from Alexandria, since they are mostly used to indicate faults in the text which the editor found in his documents but abstained from altering. A few instances are here subjoined:

G. ii. 129:

⁎— *miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia uerba*

Here the *asteriscus cum obelo* indicates that the line is wrongly repeated from *G.* iii. 283.

Aen. x. 444:

| *haec ait: et socii cesserunt aequore iusso*

the *alogus* indicates that he thought the construction of *aequore iusso* to be corrupt.

Aen. vi. 782:

ϕ *imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo*

'de hoc loco', says Servius, 'Trogus et Probus quaerunt', i. e. the query mark or *phi rho* was placed against the line to show that the construction of *Olympo* was looked upon as suspicious.

There is no reason to doubt the soundness of Roman scholarship during the second and third centuries A. D. Suetonius and Aulus Gellius afford ample evidence of the scope and pedantic minuteness of the researches of the grammarians of this period. A recension of Cicero made during the second century is attested by the 'subscriptio' found before the second speech *De Lege Agraria*. 'Statilius Maximus rursum emendaui ad Tyronem et Lactanianum et dom̄ (?) et alios ueteres III. oratio eximia.' This is evidence that it was still possible to resuscitate the text of Cicero's speeches as originally published by his secretary Tiro.

In the fourth and fifth centuries the Roman Empire began to feel the stress of two great forces that had long been latent—the Christian Church and the Northern Barbarians.

Christianity, it is true, was not officially recognized as the religion of the Empire till 391, when Theodosius forbade sacrifice and the performance of other pagan rites, but its influence had been allowed to penetrate freely into Roman life and thought ever since the Edict of Toleration published at Milan in 313 by Constantine and Licinius.

It is often asserted that one outcome of the victory of Christianity was an intense hostility to the ancient pagan literature; and it is not difficult to find statements in the ecclesiastical writers of the fourth and fifth centuries which, if they are taken by themselves, lend colour to such a charge. 'Ciceronianus es, non Christianus: ubi thesaurus tuus ibi et cor tuum,' are the words of the voice which addresses Jerome (331–420) in his dream (*Ad Eustoch.*, Ep. xxii. 30. 4, Hilberg). Pagan literature must be cleansed, just as the captive woman must shave her head and pare her nails and put off the raiment of her captivity before she is taken to wife (*Ad Magnum*, Ep. lxx. 2. 5, Hilberg). Augustine recommends the policy of 'spoiling the Egyptians' (*De doctrina Christ.* ii. 40, Migne 34, p. 63). Cassian (360–435) finds a 'speciale impedimentum salutis' in secular literature (*Conlatio*, xiv. 12). Paulinus of Nola (353–431) finds that there is no room for Christ and Apollo in a Christian breast (*Carmen*, x. 22). Yet it is not too much to say that these writers are one and all steeped in the classics. They write for an audience who demanded and appreciated subtle artifices of style, illustration, and argumentation. Contemporary with them there is a marked revival in the study of pagan literature as attested by the 'subscriptiones' which are still found appended to the works of many Latin authors, whose texts are descended from manuscripts written during this period. These subscriptions record the revision of the text by one or more persons. The terms most frequently used are *legi, legi tantum, emendaui, correxi, recensui, cognoui, contuli, descripsi, distinxi,* and in one instance

annotaui. Records of this type[1] are found in the manuscripts of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (Sallustius 395–7), Martial (Gennadius 401), Persius and Nonius (Sabinus 402), Livy (the Nicomachi and Victorianus 402–31), Vegetius (Eutropius 450), Terence (Calliopius, probably in the fourth or fifth century), Vergil (Asterius 494), Horace (Mavortius 527), Macrobius (Symmachus 485), Martianus Capella (Felix 534).

Many of these revisers were men of birth and position. Nicomachus was a 'praefectus urbis' in 402 and was related to the powerful family of the Symmachi. Domnulus was a 'uir praeclarissimus et spectabilis' and 'comes consistorii'; Asterius a 'patricius et consul'; Sabinus a young officer stationed at Toulouse. They were not trained scholars, but aristocratic readers who wanted a readable text. Their method was to collate their text with older manuscripts, when they could obtain them, and when possible they sought the aid of some grammarian (*scholasticus*, *magister*): e. g. Mavortius is assisted by 'magister Felix'. Sometimes they lament the lack of such assistance, e. g. Sabinus says, 'prout potui sine magistro emendans annotaui'. They also complain of the want of manuscripts or of their corruption, e. g. Eutropius says, 'emendaui sine exemplario': and Felix, 'ex mendosissimis exemplis emendabam'.

These dilettante editors, although they use the technical terms of scientific scholarship, are not to be compared with the great Roman scholars such as Probus, Servius, or Donatus. But their text was often constructed with care, e. g. it is to Mavortius that we probably owe the readings *manibus* (for *demens*) in Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 303, and *praesectum* (for *perfectum*) in *A. P.* 294.

This revival has often been interpreted as a reaction against Christianity fostered by aristocratic families who were still devoted to the old Roman culture. According to this view, it was the hostility of the Church which reinvigorated the dying forces of Paganism and preserved the Latin classics which now survive. But this enthusiasm for the old literature continues into the sixth

[1] A full list will be found in O. Jahn, *Berichte über d. Verhandlungen der k. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1851, pp. 327–72.

century, long after the victory of Christianity had been acknowledged in every department of life and thought. And nothing is more certain than that the Church could have destroyed everything that she was not willing to preserve. It is probably nearer the truth to say that the Christian writers up to the first half of the fifth century regarded the old literature, especially poetry, with grave mistrust. As educated men they felt its use for education and the subtle charm that it exercised upon the mind, but its very charm seemed carnal and made them afraid. Augustine puts on record that the exhortation to philosophy in Cicero's *Hortensius* first turned his thoughts to God, but he adds, in a phrase which sums up the views of his whole epoch—'Cicero, cuius linguam omnes mirantur, pectus non ita' (*Confess.* iii. 4. 7). Jerome sees a possibility of scandal to the weaker brethren if priests devote themselves to pagan literature.

'Nec nobis blandiamur si his quae sunt scripta non credimus, cum aliorum conscientia uulneretur et putemur probare quae dum legimus non reprobamus . . . At nunc etiam sacerdotes Dei, omissis Euangeliis et Prophetis, uidemus comoedias legere, amatoria Bucolicorum uersuum uerba cantare, tenere Vergilium, et id quod in pueris necessitatis est crimen in se facere uoluptatis.' (*Ad Damasum*, xxi. 13. 8, Hilberg.)

At the back of the minds of these ecclesiastics there was doubtless the feeling that paganism—or, at any rate, the pagan view of life was not wholly destroyed. The weaker brethren were still in touch with the old beliefs. The temple of Apollo still stood on the top of Monte Cassino when Benedict of Nursia founded his monastery there in 529. The old authors could still appeal to the Italian in a tongue but little removed from his own: they spoke of beliefs which belonged to the history of his nation and could still exert a noxious influence over weak and ignorant minds. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the earnest Christians of this age felt that to give any undue encouragement to the older culture was like playing with the embers of a fire that was not yet wholly extinguished.

Yet, if the revival of the classics was begun by the pagan

aristocrats, it was undoubtedly continued by Christians. The two aristocratic families which play a large part in the history and literature of the fourth century are the Symmachi and Nicomachi. Q. Aurelius Symmachus, famous as an orator, administrator, and man of letters, is also famous as the champion of paganism whose protest in 384 against the abolition of the altar of Victory is perhaps the noblest defence of a dying creed that has ever been made. Virius Nicomachus Flavianus, the consul of 394 and the editor of Philostratus' Life of Apollonius of Tyana, whose son and grandson revised the text of Livy, was also a protagonist in the pagan cause, as is shown by the *Carmen contra paganos* which was directed against him. Their families were connected by intermarriage, and both champions of paganism must have stood in intimate relation with prominent Christians. Symmachus was a connexion of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; he was a friend of Augustine, for whom he obtained a chair of rhetoric at Milan; and his family became Christian in the next generation. The aristocrats who continued to protect the ancient literature during the sixth century were beyond all doubt Christians.[1]

Accordingly, if it be true that the classical revival was provoked by the victory of Christianity, there must have been some other influence which caused it to persist. This influence was the desire of the educated classes to protect the national culture against the ignorance of the barbarians who poured into Italy and threatened its civilization with extinction during the fifth and sixth centuries. This desire to save all that could be rescued from the wreck of the old order inspired pagan and Christian alike. The reconciliation, if it may be so called between Christianity and the Humanities is associated with the two great names of Cassiodorus and Isidore.

Flavius Magnus Cassiodorus Senator (circ. 490–580) was a layman who had risen to high office under Theodoric and his successors. He had passed some part of his life at Constantinople, and was perhaps influenced by the methods of

[1] Cf. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, ii. 125.

education which he had observed there. His scheme to establish secondary schools at Rome, in which a training in rhetoric should be combined with a thorough study of the Christian Scriptures, had failed through the death of his friend Pope Agapetus in 536. Towards 540, however, he realized part of his early plan by establishing on his property at Scylaceum (Squillace), on the east coast of Bruttium, the monastery of Vivarium. The lines of intellectual discipline to be followed by the brethren were laid down by him in his *Institutiones diuinarum et saecularium lectionum.* From this treatise it is clear that he regards pagan letters from the same point of view as Jerome and Augustine. The Church is still to profit by spoiling the Egyptians (ch. xxviii). 'Nec illud patres sanctissimi decreuerunt ut saecularium litterarum studia respuantur: quia exinde non minimum ad sacras scripturas intellegendas sensus noster instruitur' (ibid. ch. xxviii). His policy is to fight the devil with pen and ink: 'contra diaboli subreptiones illicitas calamo atramentoque pugnare' (ibid. ch. xxx).

The instructions which he provides for the copyists in his monastery illustrate incidentally the dangers which threatened all texts at the time and the safeguards which were thought necessary. In copying the Scriptures great care is to be used in preserving the *idiomata,* or peculiar phrases of Scripture which are not in accord with the uses of the spoken language. The style of the Scriptures is divinely inspired, and no attempt is to be made to bring it into agreement with the rules of human eloquence. The 'incorrupta locutio quae Deo placuisse cognoscitur' is to be preserved by an appeal to two or three old and trustworthy manuscripts 'duorum uel trium priscorum emendatorum codicum auctoritas inquiratur' (ibid. ch. xv). Orthography is to be studied in the ancient authorities as epitomized by Cassiodorus himself. Punctuation is to be carefully preserved. In ecclesiastical writings other than the Scriptures the text is to be treated according to the rules laid down for secular literature. It is to be presumed, he says, that such writers observe the rules of grammar which they were taught:

'commentaria legis diuinae, epistolas, sermones librosque priscorum unusquisque emendator sic legat, ut correctiones eorum magistris consociet saecularium litterarum. Et ubicunque paragrammata in disertis hominibus reperta fuerint, intrepidus uitiosa recorrigat: quoniam uiri supradicti sic dicta sua composuisse credendi sunt, ut regulas artis grammaticae quas didicerant, custodiisse iudicentur.' (ibid. ch. xv.)

In providing for the instruction of the clergy in the liberal arts Cassiodorus had no intention of preserving the classical authors. Yet their preservation is due in large measure to the liberality of the rules which he devised. It was not difficult for subsequent generations to overstep the limits which he had recommended rather than enjoined, especially as he seems to have encouraged his pupils to push their inquiries as far as possible. In this way the study of Donatus and the *Topica* of Cicero led on to Vergil, and the clergy came to find pleasure as well as profit in the profane writers.

The work of Cassiodorus as a mediator between the Church and Antiquity was continued in the seventh century by a man of equal industry, but of far inferior intellectual calibre—Isidorus Hispalensis, commonly known as Isidore of Seville (circ. 570–636). His family had been prominent citizens of Carthagena. They had migrated to Seville, probably owing to the political troubles which led to the destruction of Carthagena in 552. His elder brother Leander became Bishop of Seville about 576, and was succeeded by Isidore about 599 or 600. The interests of Isidore lay rather in learning and education than in dogmatic theology. He enjoyed the patronage of the Spanish king Sisebut, and the sympathy and affection of bishops such as Braulio of Saragossa and Ildefonsus of Toledo. His most important work, which was to influence the education of churchmen for nearly a thousand years after his death, is properly entitled *Etymologiae*, though it is called *Origines* in the older printed editions, in defiance of the authority of the manuscripts. It is an ill-ordered and uncritical encyclopaedia of knowledge arranged so as to illustrate the seven liberal arts—i. e. Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic, with the four mathematical arts, Arith-

metic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy; passing on from these to Medicine and Theology, and concluding with a discursive survey of all the material bearing upon practical life in ancient times. The work was left unfinished by its author, and was published by his friend Braulio, who is responsible for the present arrangement in twenty books. It is a harmless, desiccated antiquity that Isidore wishes to preserve as an instrument for the defence of the faith. The great danger to the faith is heresy. Heretics are cunning, and mingle false with true and good with bad; they attempt even to recommend their doctrine by the authority of the Catholic Fathers; they foist their errors into the books used by the faithful (*Sentent.* 3. ch. xii); better Grammar, therefore, than Heresy ('meliores esse grammaticos quam haereticos', ibid. ch. xiii). In themselves the profane authors are harmful. The study of them inclines men to despise the simplicity of Scripture and leads to intellectual arrogance, while the figments of ancient poetry are actually incentives to lust. To the monk they are to be forbidden absolutely.

The importance of men like Cassiodorus and Isidore is that they represent a movement which has been happily termed a 'tacit concordat' between the Church and profane letters. Like other concordats it was forced upon the Church and was grudgingly accepted by churchmen of extreme opinions. The strict interpretation of the agreement required that profane letters were to be used only so far as they were necessary, i. e. for the purposes of education and for defence of the faith. But this was a theory, as will be seen later (p. 96), which it was not possible to enforce upon the educated laity in Italy. It was a theory which broke down in practice in the countries outside Italy, because the dangers which it was intended to guard against were too remote to justify alarm. To the Northern nations, such as the Irish and Anglo-Saxons, Latin was a foreign language. The profane writers were not read by the ordinary layman, and could not contaminate him by memories of a glorious but unchristian past. The clergy outside Italy could

regard the pre-Christian culture with a detachment of mind, which for the Italian was impossible.

The close of the seventh century, therefore, marks an important stage in the history of Latin texts, since the main tradition passes out of the hands of those who still spoke Latin as their mother-tongue. Italy still remains the storehouse of the past, but the scholars who use her stores are not Italians.

We enter upon the long period of mediaeval transmission which lasts till the renaissance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF LATIN TEXTS FROM THE AGE OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

O beata ac benedicta priorum rusticitas quae plus studuit optima operari quam loqui!—Agilmar of Clermont (ninth century) in *Vita S. Viventii*, *Act. Sanct. Boll.* 13 Ian. i. p. 813.

Et quia uicarii Petri et eius discipuli nolunt habere magistrum Platonem neque Virgilium neque Terentium neque ceteros pecudes philosophorum . . . dicitis eos nec hostiarios debere esse . . . Pro qua re sciatis eos esse mentitos qui talia dixerunt. Nam Petrus non nouit talia et hostiarius caeli effectus est.—*The papal legate Leo in* 994 *in his Epistola ad Hugonem et Rotbertum reges. Mon. Germ. Script.* iii. 687.

Cum ratio morum dicendique ratio a philosophia non separentur, cum studio bene uiuendi semper coniunxi studium bene dicendi . . . Nam et apposite dicere ad persuadendum et animos furentium suaui oratione ab impetu retinere summa utilitas. Cui rei praeparandae bibliothecam assidue comparo. Et sicut Romae dudum ac in aliis partibus Italiae, in Germania quoque et Belgica (i. e. *Lorraine*) scriptores (i. e. *copyists*) auctorumque exemplaria multitudine nummorum redemi adiutus beniuolentia ac studio amicorum comprouincialium, sic identidem apud uos fieri ac per uos sinite ut exorem.—Gerbert, *Ep.* 44 (Havet, p. 42).

Sunt enim ecclesiastici libri . . . quos impossibile est sine illis (sc. artibus) prelibatis ad intellectum integrum duci.—Notker Labeo, ed. Piper, i. 860 (tenth century).

Cum cunctas artes, cum dogmata cuncta peritus Nouerit, imperium pagina sacra tenet.—John of Salisbury, *Entheticus*, 373 (twelfth century).

Quamuis Tullii libros habere desideres scio tamen te Christianum esse non Ciceronianum. Transis enim et in aliena castra non tanquam transfuga, sed tanquam explorator.—*Letter to Wibald Abbot of Stavelot*, circ. 1150 (Martene et Durand, *Vett. Scr.* ii. 392).

Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos gigantium humeris insidentes ut possimus plura iis et remotiora uidere non utique proprii uisus acumine aut eminentia sed quia in altum subuehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.—John of Salisbury, *Metalogicus*, iii. 4.

Nam de ignorantia ad lumen scientie non ascenditur nisi antiquorum scripta propensiore studio relegantur.—Peter of Blois, *Ep.* 101 (twelfth century).

Quanto melior grammaticus tanto peior theologus.—(twelfth–thirteenth century.)

Calicibus epotandis non codicibus emendandis indulget hodie studium monachorum.—[Richard de Bury,] *Philobiblon*, ch. 5 (fourteenth century).

Il ne faut pas lire ces auteurs pour le plaisir ni pour la vanité et l'ostentation, mais pour le besoin et la nécessité.—Mabillon (1637–1707), *Traité des études monastiques*, p. 372 (Brussels, 1692).

From the seventh century to the fourteenth the classical writers survive, partly because they form the necessary basis of monastic education, and partly because they find champions from time to time in a few exceptional men whose aims and interests rise superior to those of their age. The whole of this period exhibits a conflict, suppressed at times but often overt, between these more generous minds intent on classical literature as the only source at which they can satisfy their intellectual aspirations, and the ordinary churchmen who mistrust all secular learning and endeavour to restrict its influence within the narrowest range. There were fanatics on either side who, as usual, tended to push their views to extreme limits. The enthusiasm for the Classics which could preserve the satire of Petronius and the amatory writings of Ovid was met by an equally zealous dislike which lead to an attempt at various periods to discard the Classics altogether or to remodel[1] them for Christian use. This conflict will explain the seeming contradiction between many of the quotations which have been prefixed to the present chapter.

In theory the ordinary churchman was justified in his opposition. He was following the deliberate verdict of the fathers of the Church from Augustine and Jerome to Cassiodorus and Isidore. To them profane learning was only admissible so far as it afforded a training for Theology. Cassiodorus and Isidore, as has been shown in the last chapter, had provided such a training by excerpting from profane authors an indispensable minimum of knowledge in the expectation that their pupils would be content not to ask for more. This knowledge was contained as a sort of 'harmless extract of antiquity' in the seven liberal arts which form the basis of education throughout the Middle Ages. It is important to understand the scope and implications of this system of education since it is one of the strongholds of the opponents of classical studies during this period.

[1] e. g. Hadoard's attempt in the age of Charlemagne to purge Cicero of paganism; v. Schwenke, *Philologus* v, Supplbd. 402 ff.

The system is Greek in origin, and dates from the conflict between the philosophers and the sophists in Athens in the fifth century B.C. In one of its aspects this conflict was between what may be called 'ideal' and 'practical' education. The sophists aimed at fitting their pupils for success in life by teaching them the τέχναι or practical arts: the aristocratic philosophers, such as Plato, wished to reject such a training in favour of Philosophy. The younger Stoics effected a reconciliation between these rival theories by making the Arts a propaedeutic to Philosophy. Through the works of Philo and of Martianus Capella this revised system of education is inherited by the Christian Church, in whose scheme Philosophy is replaced by Theology.

The seven arts are henceforward divided into two groups. The first three (i.e. Grammar, Rhetoric, and Dialectic) form the Trivium—an elementary course of instruction leading up to the Quadrivium, or the four arts which involved a knowledge of mathematics, i.e. Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, and Astronomy.

In theory the Arts contained all that was necessary for education, and were intended to supplant entirely the study of the profane writers. In practice, however, they were not sufficient, since it was not possible to disregard entirely the ancient authors on whose writings the Arts were founded. It is fortunate that as early as the ninth century the study of the *Auctores* was grudgingly admitted as a supplement to the *Artes*.[1] In truth it was difficult to condemn all the profane writers as forbidden fruit. A reasonable case could be made out for the retention of many of them. Some (e.g. Cicero in his rhetorical works) formed the basis on which the Arts were built. Some again (e.g. Vergil, Ovid, Terence, and Sallust) were useful text-books for the school. Others were admittedly harmless, and at the same time appealed to national pride or local interest; hence the tradition of Tacitus is confined to Germany, that of Caesar mainly to France, while Frontinus'

[1] Cf. Servatus Lupus, *Ep.* i (A.D. 830), 'Cum deinde auctorum uoluminibus spatiari aliquantulum coepissem.'

De aquis urbis Romae probably survived at Monte Cassino, because the Benedictines who lived there were not far from the great aqueducts which crossed the Campagna. Others again were morally instructive, or even tended to edification, because they exposed the hideousness of pagan corruption or contained the seeds of Christian truth. Hence the high esteem in which the satirists Horace, Persius, and Juvenal were held, and the admiration felt for the philosophical writings of Cicero and Seneca. But these utilitarian motives would not have sufficed unaided to transmit more than a small fragment of antiquity if in a few minds they had not been reinforced by more generous sentiments. Throughout the greater part of the period extending from the ninth to the fourteenth century there was an inner circle of intellectual churchmen who (often, it is true, with uneasy consciences) did not pause to inquire too narrowly into the utility of ancient literature, since they had come to love it for its own sake. Among such are Servatus Lupus, Gerbert, and Bruno in the ninth and tenth centuries, Desiderius of Monte Cassino in the eleventh, and Bernard of Chartres in the twelfth. These are the men who did for the West what Arethas, Photios, and Psellos did for Greece. They were Humanists before their time, and the worthy precursors of later scholars such as Poggio, Traversari, and Valla.

The following brief account of the history of classical studies in the West up to the time of the Renaissance in Italy will serve to illustrate some of the more general characteristics which mark the manuscripts of classical texts during the several centuries of this period.

The revival of classical studies in Europe in the seventh century was due in great part to the efforts of the Irish—or Scotti, as they were called by their contemporaries—who from the seventh to the ninth century came to the continent as missionaries, and combined their zeal for Christianity with an equal zeal for learning. Ireland had been converted by missionaries from Britain[1] and from Western Gaul as early as the

[1] Many authorities deny the influence of Britain. But they offer no explana-

fourth century. By the sixth she seems to have been brought into close relations with the continent and with Italy, since the Irish handwriting is only a development of the half-uncial hand in use in Italy and the romanized provinces at this period. Her remote situation, secure from the incursions of the barbarians, was peculiarly favourable to the growth of secular as well as ecclesiastical learning. The Church did not meet such learning with suspicion, since it was confined to the clergy, and did not affect the mass of the nation, to whom Latin was a wholly alien tongue. There was therefore none of the fear which haunted the early champions of Christianity in Italy that the study of secular learning might lead to the revival of a moribund paganism. The Irish could regard such studies with the detachment of a foreign nation, and could isolate the best elements in the ancient culture without imperilling the Christian faith. We must not, however, rush to the conclusion that their learning was systematized, or that there was at any time a large store of classical manuscripts in Ireland itself. The work of the Irish in copying and preserving secular literature was done on the continent and not at home. Their instinct for scholarship was only fully aroused when they found themselves in contact with the neglected treasures of ancient learning and literature that were still to be found in Italy and France.

In the seventh century their influence spread to the neighbouring island of Britain and to the mainland of Europe.

In Britain they became the teachers of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, who had recently been converted through the efforts of Gregory the Great. On the mainland they attempted to rouse the dormant energies of the Frankish Church by their missionary zeal, and penetrated as the pioneers of religion and civilization among the heathen tribes to the east of the Rhine. Their immediate aim was the spread of Christianity, but there is evidence that they carried their books with them and that the

tion of the fact that the earliest stratum of Latin loan-words in Irish is not taken direct from Latin but from the Briton forms of Latin words. *Vide* Thurneysen, *Hdb. des Altirischen*, p. 516.

monasteries which they founded became imbued with the scholarly spirit of their founders. Two of these are of especial importance in the history of classical learning—Bobbio south of Pavia, founded in 614 by Columban, a monk from Leinster, and St. Gallen south of Lake Constance, built in memory of Columban's favourite pupil Gallus.

It is important to remember that many other centres of learning in the Carolingian period (e.g. Luxeuil, Reichenau, Peronne, Corbie) were directly or indirectly influenced by the Irish.

The influence of the Irish in Europe was to some extent circumscribed by their lack of organization and by their conflict with the Papacy on certain points of ritual, such as the date of Easter. Hence, although they are found all over Europe as preachers, pilgrims, hermits, and scholars up to the end of the ninth century, their work was the work of isolated individuals, and often perished because there was no central organization to provide for its continuance. The Anglo-Saxons, who succeed in the eighth century to the position held by the Irish in the seventh, were firm adherents to the Roman Church and in constant communication with Rome itself—two conditions which were highly favourable to their success as missionaries and as scholars. Their first missionary triumph was in Germany, where Boniface (675–754), a native of Wessex, was the first to establish a Christian organization throughout East Frankland, Thuringia, Hesse, and Bavaria. His influence was preserved through many centuries in the great monastery at Fulda, founded in 744 under his direction by his disciple Sturmi of Bavaria.

Their second triumph was over the Frankish Empire newly founded by Charlemagne.

The exhaustive inquiries of Roger[1] have shown that there is little ground for supposing that any considerable traces of the old Roman learning and the organized system of education which had distinguished Gaul till the end of the fifth century,

[1] *L'Enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, 1905.

survived to form the basis of the revival of letters which took place under Charlemagne in the eighth. The Frankish clergy had shared in the decline of the Merovingian kingdom, and at this period thought more of the chase and of the defence of their temporal interests than of learning or of missionary effort. They had been uninfluenced by the Irish, whom they regarded as intruders, and were in no sense fit leaders for the intellectual revival which Charlemagne, like Augustus before him, felt to be the necessary complement to his new empire.

In promoting this revival it must be remembered that Charlemagne did not look beyond the ideals of his own age. He was a Christian king, and was prompted not so much by enthusiasm for classical learning as by a praiseworthy desire to perpetuate his own fame, and by the practical necessity of having an educated clergy who could understand and preserve the chief documents of the Faith and of its organizations, and perform the ritual of its services with accuracy.[1] In order to carry out his aims he was untiring in his efforts to attract learned men from every part of Europe. Among these were the Italians Peter of Pisa and Paulus Diaconus, the Irish Dungal and Clemens, and the Spanish poet Theodulf. None, however, enjoyed such influence and reputation as Alcuin, a highly educated Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic who had been head of the school at York since 778. Two years later the Emperor met him at Parma in Italy, and appointed him head of the Schola Palatina or Court School. In 796 he was promoted to be abbot of St. Martin at Tours. There, till his death in 804, he remained the central figure in the intellectual revival which rapidly influenced the monasteries of the Frankish Empire—Fleury, Corbie, Caudebec, Micy, St. Riquier, St. Mihiel-sur-Meuse, St. Bertin and Ferrières, in the West, and Fulda, Reichenau, Lorsch, Würzburg, Trier, Murbach, and St. Gallen, in the East.

The new movement soon escaped from the narrow limits within which its originators had sought to confine it. Alcuin

[1] 'Deum rogare uolunt sed per inemendatos libros male rogant.'—*Capitulare* of A. D. 789, c. 71.

himself seems to have had grave misgivings before his death, and to have attempted to check the enthusiasm for the ancient writers which his own teaching had provoked.[1] The effect of this alarm can be traced in the reaction against secular studies which took place under Louis the Pious (814–40). Charles the Bald (840–77), who succeeded Louis, was a man of broader mind, the patron of the Irish philosopher Iohannes Scotus (Eriugena), and of the learned abbot Servatus Lupus, the typical humanist of the ninth century.

Born of a noble Frankish family in the diocese of Sens in 805, Lupus was educated at Ferrières in the ordinary subjects of the Trivium and Quadrivium, and finished his education by a training in Theology at Fulda under Hrabanus Maurus, the most distinguished of the pupils of Alcuin. He returned to Ferrières, where he became abbot in 841, and continued in the office until his death in 862. His letters survive preserved in a single manuscript now at Paris (2858 in the Bibl. Nat.). They are addressed to many of the most distinguished men of his time, to Popes Benedict the Third and Nicholas the First, the Emperor Lothaire, Charles the Bald, Ethelwulf of England, to Einhard the biographer of Charlemagne, to Gotteskalk, and many prominent ecclesiastics. They contain many inquiries for classical books addressed to his correspondents in York, Tours, Fleury, Seligenstadt, Fulda, and Rome itself, and show an acquaintance with the works of Terence, Vergil, Horace, Martial, Sallust, Caesar, Livy, Suetonius, Justin, Cicero, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius, Macrobius, Priscian, Donatus, Servius, and Valerius Maximus. He is the first of those exceptional men who love the classics for their own sake, and to him and to his circle of friends is due in a large measure the overwhelming importance of the part played by France in the transmission of the Latin classics during the ninth century and the first half of the tenth. One indication of this can be seen in the fact that Cicero is now mentioned for the first time after centuries of

[1] 'Sufficiunt diuini poetae uobis nec egetis luxuriosa sermonis Virgilii uos pollui facundia.' (*Alc. Vita*, 10, p. 24, Wattenbach.)

neglect. To France belonged Gerbert of Aurillac (940–1003), abbot of Bobbio and, for the last four years of his life, Pope under the title of Silvester the Second. His love of classical learning earned him the reputation of a magician, and this perhaps explains the caution with which he justifies his studies in the quotation given from his letters on page 70. There is little doubt that the preservation of many of Cicero's speeches discovered later by the scholars of the Renaissance in French libraries is directly due to Gerbert. It is known that the Erlangensis of Cicero *De Oratore* was copied expressly for him.

Germany during the ninth century had felt to the full the effects of the Carolingian revival. Educated bishops such as Hitto of Freising (810–35), Baturich of Regensburg (817–48), and Erchanbald of Eichstädt (382–912), were all collectors of manuscripts. Many classical writers, e. g. Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Statius (*Siluae*), Lucretius, Silius Italicus (*Punica*), would have perished altogether but for the German manuscripts of this period discovered in German monasteries by the scholars of the fifteenth century. In the tenth century education was fostered by the Saxon princes of the house of Ludolfinger. Otto the First, the second prince of his line, was as great a friend to letters as Charlemagne had been, and collected round him a circle of learned men, among whom were Liutprand of Cremona, Gunzo of Novara, and Rather, Bishop of Verona, and afterwards of Lüttich (Liège), one of the first of the mediaeval writers to show an acquaintance with Plautus, Phaedrus, and Catullus. The Emperor was warmly seconded in his efforts by his youngest brother Bruno, his Chancellor, and afterwards Archbishop of Cologne (953–65), who exercised an influence upon education in Germany in the tenth century comparable only to that of Alcuin in the eighth. The result of this influence can be traced in the activity of monasteries such as Lorsch, Korvey, St. Gallen, Hildesheim, Speyer, and Tegernsee.

To the eleventh century belongs the foundation of the monasteries of Bamberg and Paderborn, but at its close the

intellectual movement which had continued intermittently in Germany from the time of Charlemagne had spent its force. The normal monkish distrust of profane studies, which was never entirely victorious in France, easily reasserted itself. During the twelfth century churchmen with any tincture of humanism become increasingly rare. Among the last is Wibald, abbot of Stavelot or Stablot in Belgium, and afterwards abbot of Korvey (1146), whose letters display a wide acquaintance with Latin authors. The best minds, however, were gradually paralysed by asceticism or became absorbed in the Scholastic philosophy.

The earliest champions of extreme asceticism were the monks of Cluny. This order had been founded at Cluny in Burgundy in 910 by William of Aquitaine. It had spread rapidly over Lorraine and Flanders, and thence to the west of Germany, where the great monastery of Hirschau radiated its influence over the whole of Germany. The influence of the Cluniacs was disastrous both intellectually and politically. By their fanatical devotion to the Papacy they precipitated the quarrel between Pope and Emperor, which rent Germany asunder and involved the clergy in what was essentially a political struggle, while their rigid asceticism and mysticism led them to discourage the study of profane literature as hindering if not actually imperilling salvation. The spirit of Odo of Cluny (878–942), who could compare the poems of Vergil to a beautiful vase full of noxious serpents, was inherited by his successors. The little intellectual energy that survived found its only outlet in the scholastic philosophy which was introduced into Germany by Otto, Bishop of Freising, the uncle of Frederick Barbarossa. The decay of the twelfth century was completed in the thirteenth through the influence of the Dominicans and of the Mendicant orders. During the first half of the fourteenth century learning was at its worst in Germany, and towards its close a man such as Amplonius von Ratinck, the founder of the Collegium Amplonianum at Erfurt (1412), to which he left his collection of manuscripts, is far in advance of the spirit of his contemporaries.

The intellectual movements in France from the eleventh century to the thirteenth proceed from three centres—Chartres, Paris, and Orleans. The distinction between *Artes* and *Auctores* which had long been maintained issues in the open conflict between Scholasticism and Classicism.

Scholasticism in its best aspect was an attempt to unify all knowledge by bringing the Arts and Theology—that is to say the whole of human knowledge, whether acquired or revealed —into a coherent and logical system. The main problem, viz. the place to be found for Theology in such a system, absorbed many of the finest intellects during these centuries, and the solution was found in the reconciliation of the philosophy of Aristotle with the doctrines of the Church. The systematization of secular knowledge was, however, a task of greater difficulty. Few of the liberal arts were sufficiently advanced for such an attempt, and hence the efforts of the minor schoolmen were chiefly expended on Grammar and Logic, the two arts where the task was easiest since speculation was not greatly embarrassed by facts. In their hands Grammar rapidly becomes a field for useless speculations and Logic a cloak for supersubtle or futile distinctions. By the twelfth century Logic had come to play such an important part in education that John of Salisbury can say bitterly of the ordinary educated youth of his time,

> Laudat Aristotelem solum, spernit Ciceronem
> et quicquid Latiis Graecia capta dedit.
> conspuit in leges, uilescit physica, quaeuis
> litera sordescit: Logica sola placet. (*Entheticus*, III.)

The worst result of this movement was to set up certain text-books as authoritative standards (e. g. in Latin Grammar the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, † 1240) and to discourage the study of the ancient writers upon whom such text-books ultimately rested. Fortunately for classical learning such claims were not allowed to pass without protest. Nowhere was the protest more effectively presented than at Chartres.

The school at Chartres had been founded as early as 990 by

Fulbert, a pupil of Gerbert. At the beginning of the twelfth century it rises to distinction under Ivo (†1115), and becomes a factor in the intellectual development of France under Bernard (†1126) and his brother Theodoric (fl. 1141). The account given by John of Salisbury in his *Metalogicus* (i. 24) shows the important place which Bernard assigned to the Classics in his scheme of education:

'Poetas aut auctores proponebat et eorum iubebat uestigia imitari ostendens iuncturas dictionum et elegantes sermonum clausulas . . . Historias, poemata percurrenda monebat diligenter . . . et ex singulis aliquid reconditum in memoria, diurnum debitum, diligenti instantia exigebat.'

Men, he held, were like dwarfs seated on the shoulders of giants, meaning by this that the wide range of modern learning was only rendered possible because it rested on the learning of the ancients. The practice of imitating the ancient authors, which Bernard was not the first to recommend, undoubtedly led to an improvement of literary taste. The refined scholarship which marks many of the writers of this period can best be seen in the works of Hildebert, Archbishop of Tours (d. 1134), many of whose poems have been at times mistaken for genuine works of antiquity. His most famous poem, an address to the city of Rome, will be found in Stubbs's edition of William of Malmesbury (Rolls Series, 1889, p. 403). It is suggested by Norden (*K. P.* ii. 724) with some probability that the preservation of poets such as Tibullus and Propertius is largely due to the practice of verse composition by men such as Hildebert. The influence of the learning at Chartres upon the text of the younger Seneca will be discussed later.

The struggle between Arts and Authors continues in France till the end of the thirteenth century. Chartres in this century falls into the background and its place is taken by Orléans, a school which had been founded in the ninth century by Bishop Theodulf, the friend of Charlemagne. While the Sorbonne at Paris was devoted to the study of the Arts, Orléans championed the classical authors. The victory was for the moment with the

Schoolmen. But the prophecy of Henri d'Andéli,[1] that the victory would not last for thirty years, was fulfilled by the scholars of the Renaissance.

From the above survey it will be seen that the two nations which have contributed most to the preservation of Latin literature are France and Germany. In France the tradition is unquestionably the more brilliant and continuous. Behind both lie their Irish and Anglo-Saxon teachers, of whose classical learning at its earliest period hardly any traces remain. The manuscripts written in the Northern or 'insular' script which still survive belong to the later period, when the emigrant scholars had become identified with their continental pupils.

Two nations have been left out of account—Italy and Spain. During the whole of this period Italy remained the central storehouse from which the northern scholars drew their material. With the exception of a brief period in the twelfth century, when learning flourished and increased at Monte Cassino under Abbot Desiderius, she was to all appearance indifferent or hostile to literary studies. How far this is a true estimate of her position will best be seen later in connexion with the Renaissance of letters that took place in the fourteenth century (ch. v).

The influence exerted by Spain cannot be accurately defined at present since the evidence is incomplete and has not been critically examined. It seems certain that a number of African authors—e. g. Dracontius, Corippus, and the collection of poems preserved in the Codex Salmasianus—derive their tradition through Spain, which, during the fifth and sixth centuries, was intimately connected with the Vandal kingdom of Africa. It is no less certain that Spanish manuscripts came to Bobbio and Monte Cassino as early as the seventh century. In 711 the victory of Tarik at the Guadalete destroyed the Visigothic kingdom, and with it the civilization which Spain had inherited

[1] A canon of Rouen, and the author of a mock-heroic poem entitled *La Bataille des sept Arts*, of which an abstract will be found in Sandys, *History of Cl. Schol.* i. 649; Norden, *K. P* ii. 728.

from Rome. The whole of the peninsula, with the exception of the mountain region of the Asturias in the north, which afterwards centred round Oviedo, came under the Moorish dominion. The presence of Spanish scholars at the court of Charlemagne seems to show that the defeated Christian civilization found a refuge in France and doubtless influenced French learning. But it is impossible to gauge the extent of that influence until the history and character of the Visigothic manuscripts that are still in existence have been thoroughly investigated.

It remains to consider the methods of the mediaeval scholars and to try to see how far their ignorance or their learning has affected the texts which they have preserved.

Throughout the whole of the mediaeval period the method of copying manuscripts must have remained very much the same. The monk sat at his sloping desk (*pluteus* or *carola*) in the scriptorium or in the cloister, with the light falling from the left. At his side, or above him, was the book which he was copying—borrowed perhaps from a neighbouring monastery, perhaps purchased from some Norman pirate who had plundered it from one of the Northern houses, perhaps part of the travelling library of some Irish missionary which had been dispersed after his death. This original is kept flat by a weight suspended by a string. A similar weight holds in place the sheet of parchment on which he is writing. In his right hand is his pen, a quill (*penna*), except perhaps in Italy, where the reed (*calamus, canna*) still survived; in his left a penknife (*scripturale*) set in a wooden handle, serving not only to sharpen the pen but also to keep the parchment firm and to smooth down any irregularities on its surface. If he is a scribe at Bobbio or St. Gall he may be writing not upon fresh parchment (which was costly, and often difficult to procure) but upon renovated parchment or 'palimpsest' taken from some older manuscripts from which the original writing has been removed.[1]

[1] One method of preparing such palimpsests was to soak the parchment thoroughly in milk, powder it with flour to prevent wrinkles, and dry it under pressure. When dry it was scoured with pumice and chalk till a white surface

The smallest units out of which a codex can be constructed are single sheets of vellum, folded into two leaves or folia. This doubled sheet is termed the diploma, or in some late mediaeval writers the arcus. In practice, however, the unit is a gathering or quire consisting of more than one of these folded sheets. The number of sheets in such a quire varies normally from two to six. Within these limits we find the following names for the quires: Binions, Ternions, Quaternions, Quinternions, Sexternions, which provide respectively 8, 12, 16, 20, and 24 pages (i. e. surfaces for writing) and half these numbers of leaves. Neither page nor leaves are numbered in the earlier mediaeval codices.[1] The quires, however, are generally marked in the left-hand corner of the lower margin by signatures, which consist of numbers or letters, the letter 'q' being a general designation for any kind of quire that was used. Often the connexion between the various quires is indicated by catchwords (*reclamantes*), i. e. the first word of a new quire is repeated below the last line of the preceding quire. The quires that are most in use are Quaternions[2]: but it was often found convenient for various reasons to insert quires of different sizes.

The size and arrangement of the quires often provide important evidence for the age and history of a codex.

Before writing the scribe tries his pen, often on the margin of

was secured. The attempt in modern times to recover the original writing by means of chemical reagents usually ends in destroying the manuscript or in so blackening it as to render it illegible. The monks do not appear to have had any special animus against classical authors, in using ancient codices as palimpsests. Any codex no longer in use might be taken for this purpose, e. g. Vindobonensis 17 originally contained an uncial text of the Bible, but was used in the ninth century for the works of Probus and other grammarians.

[1] For convenience of reference a codex is now generally 'foliated', i. e. a number is pencilled in the upper corner of the leaf which is to the right of the reader as the book lies open before him. This number designates both sides or pages of the leaf, the front page being called the recto, and back page the verso. Thus a page is cited as Fol. 4 r(ecto) or Fol. 4 v(erso), or more shortly as F. 4 or F. 4'.

[2] The word 'quire' is not, as often stated, derived from *quaternio* (which would give *carregnon*), but from *quaternum* = a book of four leaves: Ital. *quaderno* (Fr. *cahier* has borrowed the suffix of adjectives in *-arius*).

the exemplar which he is copying, and often with a jesting line such as 'probatio penne non sit mihi pena Gehenne'. If there were no other evidence the frequency of these *probationes pennae* would show that manuscripts were copied and not dictated during the Middle Age. There was, indeed, little need for dictation. Generally the scribe could perform his work at his leisure. If, as occasionally happened, a copy had to be made in haste, the original was taken to pieces and its quires distributed among a number of scribes. An interesting example of this method can be seen in Vaticanus Reginensis 762, a manuscript of Livy copied at Tours in the ninth century from Parisinus 5730 (the codex known as the Puteaneus), which belongs to the fifth century. In order to save time the original was divided between seven monks who worked simultaneously, each at the portion assigned to him. The two facsimiles which are here reproduced show the original and the copy made by a monk named Ansoaldus, who has signed his name at the foot of the page and has added the letters 'q. ii' to indicate that this was the second quaternion copied by him. Similar instances of the employment of several scribes will be found in Parisinus 12236, a manuscript of the works of Eucherius, and in Parisinus 10314, a codex of Lucan's *Pharsalia* belonging to the ninth century.

In the ninth and tenth centuries there is no doubt that the greatest care was taken to secure accurate copies. It is a fortunate chance that quite half of the surviving Latin classics are preserved in manuscripts of these centuries.[1] The condition of the few texts which the Merovingians had preserved must have been exceedingly corrupt, as can be seen from a handbook to prosody composed during the extreme decadence of the seventh and eighth centuries.[2] It consists of an anthology of lines from Latin poets, chosen so as to illustrate the prosody of certain words. Even when allowance is made for the difficulty in preserving the accuracy of lines which are divorced from their context, the

[1] Cf. F. W. Shipley, *Certain Sources of Corruption in Lat. MSS.*, p. 5.
[2] E. Chatelain in *Rev. de Phil.*, 1883, p. 65.

depth of corruption and ignorance which the collection displays is almost incredible: e. g. Martial vi. 77. 4 'Quid te Cappadocum sex onus esse iuuat', appears as 'Quid te Cappadocum Saxonus esse'; ib. v. 34. 7 'Inter tam ueteres ludat lasciua patronos', as 'Intērim ueteres laudat', &c. The Carolingian scholars and their immediate successors brushed aside such meaningless rubbish as this and reverted to the purer tradition preserved by the contemporary Irish and Anglo-Saxons or by the earlier Italian scholarship. Yet even with such originals care was necessary. The Irish were notoriously careless in orthography,[1] and Italian manuscripts, as can be seen from the early fragments which still survive, are by no means free from serious mistakes. In order to secure accuracy the scribe's work was corrected when complete by the best scholar who could be found in the monastery. The correction took the form of Punctuation, Orthography, and Collation, the three functions of textual criticism as practised in antiquity and frequently mentioned in the recensions of the Theodosian epoch (cf. p. 62). Among Alcuin's poems is one[2] in which there is a description of a scriptorium where monks are engaged in copying the sacred writings. Careful punctuation and observance of the proper sections is there enjoined upon the scribes:

> Correctosque sibi quaerant studiose libellos
> tramite quo recto penna uolantis eat.
> per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus
> et punctos ponant ordine quisque suo.

This advice only repeats in part what Jerome lays down in his preface to his translation to Isaiah—'sed quod in Demosthene et Tullio solet fieri ut per cola scribantur et commata, nos quoque utilitati legentium prouidentes interpretationem nouam nouo scribendi genere distinximus.' Manuscripts of Cicero belonging to the ninth century still exist written with *cola* and *commata*,

[1] e.g. the writing of single consonants for double, or double for single, *Affrica*, *pressul*, *ingresus*, *sagita*: cf. F. E. Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor*, p. xxiv, and *Mon. Germ. poet. lat.* III, p. 795 (Traube).

[2] Dümmler, *Poet. Lat. aevi Carolini*, i, xciv, p. 320, Migne ci, col. 745.

i. e. in large or small sections corresponding to the sense, an arrangement intended to facilitate reading aloud by marking the appropriate pauses. More important was the ordinary system of punctuation which Alcuin did his best to reintroduce: 'Punctorum uero distinctiones uel subdistinctiones licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum in sententiis, tamen usus illorum propter rusticitatem pene recessit a scriptoribus . . . Horum usus in manibus scribentium redintegrandus esse optime uidetur.' (Mon. Germ. Hist. *Epp. Karolini aevi*, ii. p. 285, l. 16.)

The question of Orthography had exercised Cassiodorus in the sixth century. He had made selections from the ancient grammarians and embodied them in a short treatise for the use of his scribes. This treatise, which still survives, served as a guide to later copyists, and was supplemented by similar works written by Bede and Alcuin. The subscription in the manuscripts of the Carolingian epoch often indicates the care which has been taken with the orthography, e. g. in one of the manuscripts written for Archbishop Baturich (817–48) the note is added: 'scriptus est diebus septem et in octauo correctus . . . Hildoino orthografiam praestante.' (Cod. Monacensis lat. 437.) The results of such orthographical correction can be seen on a small scale in the Vatican Livy that has been mentioned above, e.g. the spellings SUPPLICATIO, ABSUMTIS in the original Puteaneus have been altered to *subplicatio*, *apsumtis*. The practice of collating one manuscript with another can best be illustrated from the letters of Servatus Lupus, e. g. *Ep.* 104, written about the year 846, 'Catilinarium et Iugurthinum Sallustii librosque Verrinarum, et, si quos alios uel corruptos nos habere uel penitus non habere cognoscitis, nobis afferre dignemini: ut uestro beneficio et uitiosi corrigantur et non habiti acquirantur.' *Ep.* 69 (A. D. 847) 'Tullianas epistolas quas misisti cum nostris conferri faciam ut ex utrisque si possit fieri ueritas exsculpatur.' The effect of such collations made by some unknown scholar of the ninth century can still be traced in the text of Justin and Valerius Maximus. The work of Valerius exists in the complete form, and also in an epitome made by Julius Paris in the fifth century before Christ.

This epitome was made from a good and early manuscript. The scribes of the ninth century have seen that it sometimes provides readings superior to those which were current in the ordinary copies of the complete text and have not hesitated to transfer them. The effect of such a collation can be seen in the Bernensis 366, the best surviving manuscript of the complete text. The care shown by Grimwald and Tatto in order to secure an accurate copy of the rule of St. Benedict will be described in a later chapter (p. 109).

It is not probable that these efforts at textual criticism effected much except by a fortunate accident. Manuscripts were rare and jealously guarded. Systematic comparison was impossible, and the level of scholarship, even among the greatest enthusiasts for learning such as Alcuin and Lupus, was not high. The helplessness of the scholars of this period in face of a gravely corrupted text is well illustrated by Dicuil, an Irishman who in 825 composed a work entitled *De Mensura Orbis Terrae*. In the preface he complains of the corrupt condition of the contemporary copies of the works of Pliny the Elder. 'Ubi in libris Plinii Secundi corruptos absque dubio numeros fieri cognouero loca eorum uacua interim fore faciam ut si non inuenero certa exemplaria quicunque reppererit emendet. Nam ubi dubitauero utrum certi necne sint numeri sicut certos crassabo (i. e. χαράσσω, "to write") ut praedictus quisquis uerosuiderit ueraciter corrigat.' (ed. Parthey, *prol.* §. 4.) Similar complaints are not unfrequent at this period. A ninth-century manuscript of Quintilian now at Zürich has the subscription :

> Tam male scribenti tam denique desipienti
> absque exemplari frustra cogor medicari.

It is fortunate that the utter decay of scholarship under the Merovingians forced their successors to go far afield and search for the best manuscripts that were then in existence. If a large portion of Latin literature had survived in Gaul after filtering through the ignorance and barbarism of the sixth and seventh centuries the scholars of the ninth and tenth might have wasted

their energies in producing interpolated texts, such as the scholars of the Italian Renaissance were forced to produce, and the remnants of sound texts in Ireland, England, and Italy might have been lost beyond recovery.[1]

The immense services rendered by the Carolingians to the Latin classics consist, therefore, not in their attempts at recension which could never be systematic, but in the accuracy with which they copied the good manuscripts which were still accessible, and in the legibility of the script in which they copied them. The last service is equally important with the first. At Tours, Fleury, Micy, and elsewhere in France, there was evolved from the ugly Merovingian script, with its numberless ligatures and contractions, and from other sources[2] the handwriting known as the 'Caroline minuscule'. This clear and beautiful alphabet, in which every letter is distinctly formed, spread rapidly over the whole of Europe, and is the parent of the modern script and print which is still used by the majority of the Western nations. The difficulty of the earlier hands such as the Uncial and Half Uncial had often been severely felt. Boniface (Mon. Germ. Hist. *Epp. Karolini aevi*, i. p. 329, l. 32) asks a friend for a Bible written 'claris et absolutis litteris.... Quia caligantibus oculis minutas litteras ac connexas clare discere non possum.'[3] If a difficult handwriting such as the Irish had been widely adopted in early times the havoc wrought in Latin texts by slovenly monkish scribes during the later period would have been much greater. Even the painstaking scholars of the Renaissance were completely at a loss when they were confronted with the Irish hand or the Lombardic (e. g. in Tacitus).

The soundest texts—with the exception of the few fragments of greater antiquity that are preserved—are those which are

[1] The legends of the Saints which have descended from Merovingian copies have all suffered violent treatment in order to render them intelligible. Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, p. 331.

[2] L. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, ii. 25 seq.

[3] Cf. Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, p. 440, who quotes an instance of a papal Bull found at Tours in 1075 'sed quia erat Romana littera (probably "half-uncial") scriptum, non poterat legi'.

attested by manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries. The succeeding centuries witness only an increase in corruption. This corruption was inevitable and progressive, because, as has been seen, there was no continuity in classical studies. If the spirit of the Carolingian scholars had survived and become widespread, it might have been possible to avoid some of the grosser forms of error. Manuscripts would have been numerous and there would have been safety in large numbers of carefully copied texts. But when a period of decadence was followed by a period of intellectual activity the naive mechanical corruptions introduced by ignorant scribes and accepted with acquiescence by ignorant readers became intolerable to intelligent scholars at a later date, who sought for a meaning in what they read. They were forced, therefore, to emend their texts, and made the corruptions which they sought to remove more ingrained through their interpolations, i. e. their infelicitous conjectures. A few instances may be given to illustrate the ignorance of scribes and the interpolations which it caused.

Monacensis Lat. 4610, a manuscript of Ovid, will serve to show the depth of corruption reached by Germany in the twelfth century. In it the passage from *Met.* vii. 759 is given as:

> Carmina *Naiades* non intellecta priorum
> soluerat ingeniis, et praecipitata iacebat
> immemor ambagum uates obscura suarum.
> Protinus Aoniis immittitur altera Thebis
> pestis.

In this *Naiades* is a corruption for *Laiades*, and the reference is to Oedipus, the son of Laius, and to the Sphinx (*uates obscura*). The significance of such a text lies not so much in this isolated error (which is common to all the manuscripts) as in the manner in which it is accepted and explained by a certain Manogaldus, whose notes are preserved in the manuscript:

'Secundum Manogaldum Diana fecerat quaedam carmina ambigua . . . quoniamque uates illius soluere non poterat homines ea carmina non intelligentes iuerunt ad Naiades quae Naiades soluerunt illa. Illum autem uatem quasi soluere non potuit

praecipitando occiderunt. Unde Diana irata misit ad illorum exitium quandam feram.'

In Cic. *In Verr. Act.* ii. 1. § 151 the right reading is known from the Vatican fragment (3rd–4th century) to be 'pupillum Iunium praetextatum uenisse in uestrum conspectum et *stetisse cum* patruo testimonium dicente questus est'. A Paris manuscript (p) of the eleventh century shows that the reading had been corrupted by that date into the meaningless words *Stet esse cum.* The mediaeval scholars would seem to have contented themselves with passing over what they could not have understood, since it was left for the scribes of the fifteenth century to make such impossible conjectures as *ter esse cum* and *testes secum.*

The text of Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* affords a good example of the interpolations of mediaeval scholars from the eleventh century to the thirteenth. None of the manuscripts in which the treatise is preserved are older than the twelfth century. All are descended from a common archetype, in which there was a lacuna of about eight leaves in the fourth book. Of this archetype a copy usually designated by the symbol Φ was made in the tenth century. Another copy (Δ) was made a little later, probably in the eleventh century, when the archetype had suffered further injury through the disappearance of the end of Book III. Both of these copies are now lost, but their main features can be recognized in their descendants. As might be expected, Δ presented a text inferior to that preserved in Φ, e. g.

N. Q. i. 1. 17 Hoc certe sciam, omnia angusta esse mensus deum. Φ

Hoc certe sciam omnia angusta esse. Sed haec deinde. Δ

Mensus deum was either unintelligible to the scribe who copied Δ, or the letters were blurred and he made a haphazard conjecture. Though Δ has disappeared it is right to infer that this corrupt reading was in its text, since it is a reading common to the whole group derived from Δ. Where the various members of this group present divergent readings of their own it is equally

right to infer that such divergences are alterations made later than the date to which Δ is to be assigned. Some of these alterations show that at some time in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the text of the Δ-group was collated with the better text given in the Φ-group. If for this purpose a bad copy of Φ was chosen, the only result was to infect the new text with the errors which had been developed in the course of time in the Φ-group, or to deepen the corruption by trying to emend them; e. g. in *N. Q.* vi. 5. 2 the best members of the Φ-group read 'Magni animi fuit rerum naturae latebras dimouere nec *contentum* exteriore eius aspectu introspicere'. But some members of the group had corrupted the word *contentum* into *crementum*, others into *contemptum*. This last reading has found its way into the text of one set of manuscripts belonging to the Δ-group, but the scribes who adopted the reading have attempted to give a semblance of meaning to the passage by reading *contempnendum*.

If the classical learning of the thirteenth century is judged out of the mouth of Dante there can be no complaint of the unfairness of the test. He is the one writer who has pressed into his service and envisaged with the sympathetic insight of genius all the learning and literature to which he had access. Yet he knew no Greek: and his references to Latin authors are severely restricted in their range and are often inaccurate in detail. His works contain references to Vergil, but only to the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*, to Lucan's *Pharsalia*, to Statius' *Thebais* and *Achilleis* (but not to the *Siluae*), to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the *Remedia Amoris*, to Juvenal and to Horace's *Ars Poetica*. Among prose writers he is acquainted with the *De Amicitia*, *De Officiis*, *De Finibus*, and *De Inuentione* of Cicero, with the *Epistle to Lucilius*, the *De Beneficiis* and *Naturales Quaestiones* of Seneca, and with Livy, though many apparent references to Livy are drawn from the epitomists Orosius and Florus.

His manuscript of Vergil must have belonged to the interpolated class since in *De Mon.* II. iii. 102 he quotes *Aen.* iii. 340 as 'Quem tibi iam Troia *peperit fumante Creusa*'.

In *Purgatorio* xxxiii. 49 he introduces the Naiades as solvers

of riddles—a mistake due to the false reading in Ovid, *Met.* vii. 759, which has been discussed above. In *Purg.* xxii. 40–1 he translates *Aen.* iii. 56 'Quid non mortalia pectora cogis, Auri sacra fames?' but his translation entirely inverts the meaning by the rendering,

> Per che non reggi tu, o sacra fame
> Dell' oro, l' appetito de' mortali?

i. e. as da Ricaldone paraphrases: 'O fames, execrabilis et maledicta, cur non regis mentes hominum? scilicet ut moderate et debite expetant.'

[The main authorities are:

Bursian, C. *Gesch. der classischen Philologie in Deutschland*, 1883.

Norden, E. *Die antike Kunstprosa*, 1909.

Roger, M. *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin.* Paris, 1905.

Specht, F. A. *Geschichte des Unterrichtswesens in Deutschland von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Mitte des xiii^ten^ Jahrhunderts*, 1885.

Traube, L. *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, vols. i–ii, 1909–11.]

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF TEXTS DURING THE PERIOD OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

Fac suspectum tibi quicquid hactenus didicisti, damnes omnia atque abjicienda putes, nisi meliorum auctorum testimonio et uelut decreto rursus in eorum mittaris possessionem.—Rod. Agricola, *Lucubrationes*, p. 193.

In the preceding chapter nothing has been said of the position held by Italy in the tradition of the Latin classics, since that position is best considered in connexion with the important period of the Italian Renaissance.

It has sometimes been held that in Italy there was a complete break with the ancient culture owing to the hostility of the Church and the political unrest which followed the invasions of the Barbarians. At first sight this view appears to be plausible. The immediate effect of the movement in education, begun by Cassiodorus and others, was to relegate the classical writers to the background. The book-trade in the ancient sense disappeared with the final victory of Christianity. The ancient manuscripts which belonged to the period when Latin was still a living language were allowed to perish or were used for later writings, and, as has already been seen, only survive because by a fortunate chance they aroused the interest of the northern scholars such as the Irish at Bobbio. Monte Cassino had not yet become a home of learning.

Politically also there would appear to be grounds for assuming a complete break with the past owing to the Lombard invasion of 568 and the series of conflicts with the Avars, Hungarians, Saracens, and Normans which marked the long period from the seventh century until the eleventh. During these centuries there is no scholarship or original literature which at first sight

can be called distinctively Italian. Paulus Diaconus, the author of the *History of the Lombards*, the most distinguished writer of the eighth century, was himself a Lombard. In the ninth century there are no great names in literature. The few names of men interested in intellectual pursuits that survive are those of foreigners such as the Irishman Dungal who taught at Pavia about the year 823. The same may be said of the greater names which adorn the tenth century. Rather, Bishop of Verona (d. 974), came from Liège; Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (d. 972), was a Lombard; Pope Silvester II (Gerbert), a Frank.

Yet on a closer view these foreign names represent a movement which was not wholly exotic. They imply the existence, at any rate in Northern Italy, of a public that appreciated scholarship. Verona especially throughout this period seems to have remained in touch with the ancient culture. Shortly before his death in 844 or 846 the Archdeacon Pacificus presented the College of Canons with 218 manuscripts. Various Veronese poems which belong to the ninth and tenth centuries, such as the sapphic verses on Bishop Adelhard and the *Panegyricus Berengarii*, show a remarkable acquaintance with Latin literature. These formal poems would not by themselves imply any widespread interest in antiquity. One occasional poem, however, belonging, as L. Traube has shown, to this period and written at Verona, survives to show the mind of the ordinary man. It is sufficiently steeped in the classical spirit, and, as is now clear, in the classical spirit in its least commendable quality, to have misled so great a scholar as Niebuhr, who attributed it to a Pagan author of the fifth century A. D.[1]

By the eighth century the Lombards, though still affecting to despise the Romans for their degeneracy, had assimilated the higher culture of the subject-race. The spirit of Italian nationality was in gradual process of evolution. And the spirit of ancient Rome was part of the inheritance of the new race. The Lombard kings and their successors adhered to the old

[1] The poem beginning 'O admirabile Veneris ydolum': v. Traube, *O Roma nobilis*, 1891, p. 301.

German custom of educating promising youths at their court at Pavia. Paulus, who was brought up at the court of Ratchis, mentions that his teacher was the grammarian Flavianus. Liutprand, before he attracted the notice of King Hugo, must have received an education which included the works of Vergil, Horace, Terence, Ovid, Juvenal, and Cicero. The Court itself cannot have remained uninfluenced by the presence of such teachers and such pupils, and it is clear that Paulus's pupil, the Princess Adelperga, daughter of King Desiderius, and her husband Arichis, the Prince of Beneventum, were interested in humane studies.

The explanation of the intellectual condition of Italy at this period is to be found in the fact that she was the only country in Europe which possessed an educated laity. Elsewhere education was the monopoly of the cloister and led only to a career in the Church. But in Italy the Church never seems to have obtained a complete control over the education of the laity. The clergy remained for the most part[1] ignorant and fanatical, and had never been affected by the Bonifacian reforms which had stiffened the discipline of the Northern Churches by encouraging learning. They retained their old feelings of mistrust for secular writings, a mistrust that is well expressed by the insolent remark made by Leo, a papal legate sent in 994 to King Hugo and his son Robert, that St. Peter knew nought of Plato or Vergil or Terence and suchlike 'philosophic cattle' ('pecudes philosophorum') and yet had become the doorkeeper of Heaven ('Petrus non nouit talia et hostiarius caeli effectus est').[2]

The result of this temper of mind on the part of the clergy was to leave intact the old Roman system of education by lay professors. A striking proof of this is afforded by a poem addressed to Henry III by Wipo, the learned chaplain of Conrad II, in which he draws a very unfavourable comparison

[1] We must except the Benedictines of Monte Cassino. Here there was a revival of learning under Abbots Theobald and Desiderius in the eleventh century, and to this revival is due the preservation of Varro, Tacitus, Apuleius.

[2] Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Scriptores*, iii. 687.

between the education of the laity in Germany and in Italy. It was education, he says, that made Rome great. In Italy every boy is sent to school. The Teutonic nations alone regard education as useless or even disgraceful except as a preparation for the priesthood.[1]

In the existence of a public of educated laymen in Italy at this period we have an explanation of the Renaissance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Without such a basis it would be a brilliant episode without any relation to the past. We have also an explanation of the lack of great names in literature and scholarship during the mediaeval period. The classical authors continued to be appreciated by a large number of laymen who had neither the time nor the inclination to become authors or scholars because their energies were absorbed in practical life. Such a public was a bad guardian of the text of the authors whom it admired. Since they had no scientific interest in antiquity as a whole they were content with readable texts of those authors only whom they regarded as profitable, and allowed much to decay that has become lost for ever, or was recovered from other lands by the energy of the men of the Renaissance. But they were the seed-plot of a rich harvest.

The period of the Renaissance or the Revival of learning in Italy may conveniently be taken to extend from the age of Petrarch and Boccaccio to the sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V in 1527. It is not to be supposed that the classical literatures would have perished but for that revival. Both,

[1] Tunc fac edictum per terram Teutonicorum,
Quilibet ut diues sibi natos instruat omnes
Litterulis . . .
Moribus his dudum uiuebat Roma decenter,
His studiis tantos potuit uincire tyrannos:
Hos seruant Itali post prima crepundia cuncti,
Et sudare scholis mandatur tota iuuentus:
Solis Teutonicis uacuum vel turpe uidetur
Ut doceant aliquem nisi clericus accipiatur.
Wiponis *Tetralogus* 190 sqq.,
Mon. Germ. Hist. Script. xi. p. 251.

however, were at a critical period of their history. Latin might have suffered irreparable losses from the continuance of mediaeval neglect, while Greek literature, which, as far as can be seen, was but little affected by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, might have been gravely impaired by that disaster had not the study of Greek been transplanted from Byzantium to Italy at least a century before the final victory of the Turks.

The object of the present chapter is to describe the aims and methods of the scholars of the Renaissance in dealing with the classical texts which they did so much to preserve, since few texts have altogether escaped their influence.

Humanism—a term borrowed from antiquity—was an ideal of life and not of learning. The 'humane' man was the educated man free and untrammelled in thought and action by the restrictions which Emperor, Pope, and the Scholastic Philosophy had imposed upon his development during the Middle Age. The great instrument of liberation was to be found in the ancient literatures, which were revived not entirely through admiration of their intrinsic beauty, but because they embodied an ideal of life which was ancient indeed but not obsolete and irrecoverable. Italy was the only country at this period where such a view of classical antiquity could have been other than the pleasing fancy of a few great minds. There, however, it was fostered not only by the aspirations of the men of the Renaissance, but also by their practical needs. The Italians were a highly imaginative race, devoted to the curious ideal of 'fame' or glory, which largely usurped the influence of the ordinary motives of right conduct during this period, and never forgetting that they were the descendants and heirs of the ancient Romans. The new studies fostered this imagination. But they also satisfied many practical needs. Latin was still the language of the Church, of diplomacy, and of the great professions of Law and Medicine. It was still the ordinary medium of communication between educated men in Italy, where the lingua Toscana had not yet won its victory over the other competing dialects. Above all, the Latin and Greek authors were still

the primary, and often the only, sources for such important departments of practical knowledge as Law, Medicine, Mathematics, Mechanics, &c.[1]

The idea that the classical writers were of real practical use and that a transformation of contemporary life was to be accomplished by means of them pervades the whole period of the Renaissance, and explains the rash methods which were applied to many of the newly discovered texts. A manuscript was of no use to the ordinary man unless it could be read. It could not be regarded as merely a witness to the authentic text whose evidence must be sifted and weighed according to recognized rules, and confronted with the evidence of all other witnesses. It is this demand for readable texts, made at a time when the methods of criticism were necessarily imperfect, which was one of the chief causes of the corruptions which deface the 'Itali' or 'recentiores' or 'deteriores', as the manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are usually called in a modern *apparatus criticus*.

It is characteristic of the humanistic movement that it did not influence the curriculum in schools and universities until its force was nearly spent. The humanists were, it is true, often employed as lecturers in the universities, but they were nearly always birds of passage, jealous of their freedom, never at home in the air of officialdom, and never seriously competing with the older faculties of Law and Medicine. The early scholars who supported the movement were partly enthusiastic amateurs, often in high positions in the political world, and partly professional men who sought employment wherever they could find it as lecturers, private tutors, or secretaries. To the first class belong men of affairs such as Coluccio di Piero de' Salutati (1330–1406), the friend of Petrarch and chancellor of the Republic of Florence; Lionardo Bruni (1369–1444), his successor in the Chancellorship; Churchmen such as Ambrogio Traver-

[1] Cf. Aldus's preface to *Aristophanes* of 1498, 'Errant meo iudicio multum qui se bonos philosophos medicosque euasuros hoc tempore existimant, si expertes fuerint literarum Graecarum.'

sari (1386–1459), the General of the Camaldulensian order; Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), one of the papal secretaries; or private collectors like Niccolò de' Niccoli, the friend of all the earlier discoverers, who, with the support of his powerful patrons the Medici, collected or transcribed many of the manuscripts that are still in the Laurentian Library at Florence. To the second class belong such wandering scholars as Giovanni di Conversino of Ravenna, who was employed by Petrarch as a copyist; his compatriot (who is often confused with him) Giovanni Malpaghini (†1417), the teacher of Poggio and Traversari; Gasparino da Barzizza (circ. 1370–1459), who devoted himself especially to the study of Cicero and Quintilian; the Byzantine Manuel Chrysoloras (circ. 1350–1415), the first competent teacher of Greek in Italy; Giovanni Aurispa (circ. 1370–1459), who imported many of the manuscripts of Greek authors now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and many others.

The best of these scholars and amateurs were well aware of the difficulties of the problem with which they were faced and of their own slender resources for solving it. Manuscripts were not easily procurable. The great enthusiasts such as Petrarch himself and Niccoli were by no means anxious to lend their treasures; and Poggio's complaints of the selfishness of the owners of codices ('huiusmodi homines teneri crimine expilatae hereditatis'[1]) is re-echoed in the prefaces to many of the *editiones principes*.[2] Yet manuscripts were in great demand, and when they could be procured it was often difficult to find a copyist educated enough to transcribe them. The complaints of the worthlessness of the ordinary copyist are constant from the age of Petrarch down to the date of the introduction of printing. Petrarch's outburst against them is found in his *De Remed. Utriusque Fortunae i. Dial.* 43, p. 2:

'Ignauissima haec aetas culinae solicita literarum negligens et coquos examinans non scriptores. Quisquis itaque pingere

[1] *Orat. funebr. Nic. Nicc.*, in Muratori, *Rer. It. Script.* xx. 169 E.

[2] e. g. Cic. *Epp. ad Brutum*, Andreas, 1470, 'Exemplaria quae ab inuidis communi hominum odio occultantur.'

aliquid in membranis, manuque calamum uersare didicerit, scriptor habebitur doctrinae omnis ignarus, expers ingenii, artis egens.'

Salutati complains bitterly of the havoc which the scribes had wrought with the texts even of modern writers such as Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The following quotations from Poggio will show that the evil was far greater in classical texts.

'Misisti mihi librum Senecae et Cornelium Tacitum, quod est mihi gratum: at is est litteris Langobardicis et maiori ex parte caducis . . . difficile erit reperire scriptorem qui hunc codicem recte legat.' (Tonelli, iii, *Ep.* xv, p. 213. Written to Niccoli in 1427.)

In 1430 he writes:

'Nullus mihi crede Plautum bene transcribet nisi is sit doctissimus: est eis litteris quibus multi libri ex antiquis quos a mulieribus conscriptos arbitror nulla uerborum distinctione ut persaepe diuinandum sit.' (Ibid. i. 339.)

'Philippicas Ciceronis emendaui cum hoc antiquo codice qui ita pueriliter scriptus est ita mendose ut in iis quae scripsi non coniectura opus fuerit sed diuinatione . . . sed scis in talibus me esse satis sagacem: non potui autem corrigere omnes.' (Ibid. iii, *Ep.* xviii, written in 1428.)

The apparatus of scholarship such as Grammars and Lexica either did not exist or was not readily accessible. Hence the path of even the best and most careful scholars was beset with difficulties. As is natural in an age of enthusiasm and progress, the best men tended to overestimate their strength, and the 'divinatory power' of criticism, as can be seen from the last two passages quoted from Poggio, soon began to play a disastrous part in the emendation of texts. The complaint of Leo Aretinus, *Ep.* ii. 13 (Mehus) 'Qui enim corrigere uoluit eas plane corrupit,' is heard on all sides.

An instructive instance of the method employed by such correctors is to be found in the account given by Tommaso Seneca of the edition of the poems of Tibullus which he prepared for a certain John, a physician of Rimini. His letter bears the date 1434, and is worth quoting in full, since Seneca is a type of the wandering scholar, with no great ability, con-

vinced that he is improving the text on which he is working, whereas in reality he is deepening its corruption.

Ioanni Ariminensi optimo phisico Thomas Seneca salutem.

Auderem fortassis augere uerbis operam hanc meam, si, ut par fuerat, ultro ac ingenue tui gratia excepissem. Sed quoniam et rogatus et precio sum ad eam adductus, nulle sunt in beneficio partes mercennarii que ad laudem et gratiam proficiscantur. Unum illud audeo dicere, quod pessimi facere mercennarii non solent, quanta potui maxima cura studuisse ut industria superarem opus mercennarium. *Neque enim ita ut repperi in exemplis exscribere contentus fui,* sed et doctos atque illustratos homines, qui huiuscemodi poematum studiosi habentur, quo tibi quoad possem incorruptum opus perducerem, obisse, et aliquotiens ex Prato Florentiam iter habuisse, ubi Seraphium Urbinatem, Iohannem Pratensem, Nicholaum Nicholum ac ceteros una alteraue de re consultos facerem. Nam quid ipse *quasi diuino quodam flatu profecerim,* id praetereo. Certe uacua que fuerant uetustate aut scriptorum uicio deperdita meo ut aiunt Marte suppleui. . . . Interea qualem hunc proinde leges, dum intelligas hoc non esse alterum in Italia incorruptiorem. (Quoted by Baehrens, *Tibullus,* 1878, p. viii.)

An instance of Seneca's method may be seen in Tib. ii. 3. 75, where he fills up a lacuna with his own line, 'Ah, pereant artes et mollia rura colendi.'

This eager demand for what it was so difficult to supply threw temptations in the way of ambitious and inferior scholars. The long list of quattrocento forgeries[1] shows what an enthusiastic, but wholly uncritical, public was prepared to accept. A public which could content itself with wholesale forgeries was not likely to listen to the protests of the few scholars of discernment who saw the harm that was produced by the manipulation of texts of acknowledged authenticity. There were scrupulous men such as Niccoli and Pomponius Laetus.[2] Zomino of

[1] Best illustrated in R. Foerster's *F. Zambeccari und die Briefe des Libanios,* 1878; cf. also Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte,* p. 172.

[2] M. Antonius Sabellicus (Coccio), Ep. xi, p. 56[v]· ed. 1502, says of Pomponius: 'Cum Varrone diu luctatus est: ut in integrum restitueret. In Crispo: et in Liuio reposuit quaedam: etsi nemo religiosius timidiusque tractauit ueterum scripta.' Yet the discovery of the Medicean MS. of Varro *de Lingua Latina* showed that his hand could be heavy on the text, e. g. v. 117 'Tubae a tubis, quos etiam nunc appellant tubicines sacrorum [id est sacri tubicines tubi uocantur],

Pistoia maintained that an ancient manuscript should be copied word for word; Gasparino di Barzizza claimed no inspiration for his efforts to render a text readable. 'Quaedam', he says of his text of Cicero *De Oratore*, 'etiam cum deficerent suppleui non ut in uersum cum textu Ciceronis ponerentur, esset enim id uehementer temerarium, nec ab homine docto ferendum; sed ut ea in margine posita commentariorum locum tenerent.' (Sabbadini, *Studi di G. B.* p. 11.) Yet, but for the discovery of the Lodi codex by Poggio, Gasparino's well-intentioned interpolations might have become an inseparable part of the tradition of the text.

It must be remembered that before the invention of printing the sense of responsibility was only weakly developed among scholars. Bad or indifferent work did not at once meet the light of criticism, and might remain latent long enough to become authoritative. Casual suggestions thrown out by some wandering scholar, emendations tentatively made by a bad copyist in the margin of his book, interpolations made with the best or worst intentions—all tend to find a permanent place in the subsequent tradition of the text.

A valuable account of the difficulties and dangers of the scholarship of this period is given by Salutati in his work *De Fato et Fortuna*. The passage is quoted by Mehus in his edition of Traversari's *Letters*, p. ccxc, from a still unpublished manuscript in the Laurentian Library at Florence.

Readers, he says, as well as scribes are responsible for corruptions in Texts.

'Late siquidem et ubique corrupta sunt omnia, et dum librarii, per euagationem mentis et capitis leuitatem, inaduertenter omittunt, dum temerarie mutant quod non intelligunt, dum plerumque glossulas ex librorum marginibus et interliniis ueluti scribenda recolligunt, nullum omnino textum . . . non corruptissimum reliquerunt.

where the words in brackets are added by Pomponius. An instance where suspicion has been wrongly cast upon the Italians is to be seen in Cic. *Pro Caelio*, where scholars have regarded the passages which are not found in P but only in the *deteriores* as late interpolations. Their antiquity is now attested by the Cluniacensis. (A. C. Clark, preface to the Oxford Text.)

'Quod quidem crimen non ipsis librariis solum, qui per inscitiam suos libris infigunt errores, sed legentibus potius, et illis praecipue qui non prorsus ignari, sibi se scire (quod latum ignorantiae uestibulum est) corrupto iudicio persuaserunt, adscripserim.

'Hi quidem dum rebus non intellectis haerent . . . praesumptuosas in libros manus iniiciunt: et aliquando litterarum, quandoque syllabae, et aliquoties dictionum mutatione, tum detrahentes aliquid, tum addentes, non solum alienant textus mutantque sententias, sed omnia usquequaque peruertunt. . . . O quoties uidi magistros nostri temporis non emendationes sed menda suis adnotasse manibus! . . . Nec id nostrae aetatis solummodo uitium est, sed omnis quae nos praecessit post auctores ipsos ferme posteritas, ignorantia semper et sine modo crescente, libros quos auctoritas et fama scriptorum perpetuos fore spondebat uisa est ineptis et inconsideratis suis correctionibus imo corruptionibus abolere.'

He not only diagnoses the disease, but suggests a remedy:

'Sicut hactenus aliquando factum fuit constituantur bibliothecae publicae in quas omnium librorum copia congeratur, praeponanturque uiri peritissimi qui libros diligentissima collatione reuideant et communem uarietatum discordiam rectae diffinitionis iudicio nouerint remouere.'

He proceeds to say that he has in mind some of the ancient recensions still recorded in manuscripts, e.g. the Calliopian recension of Terence. Emendation, however, is a work of difficulty.

'Pauci quidem deprehendunt uitia paucissimique, licet corruptionem uiderint, sunt qui nouerint relictis uestigiis illuc unde uitia coeperint remeare . . . Correctionis labor ipsos grauat et deterret errorum quos infinitos sentiunt multitudo. Si qui forsan aliquid aliquando correxerint, remanet unico solum libro, quidquid utilitatis adtulerunt impressum, nec late, sicuti foret expediens, ampliatur; idemque penitus contigit illis qui nostra tempora praecesserunt.'

In all this confusion the Greek texts suffered equally with the Latin. As has been described in a preceding chapter, Greek literature had already experienced the effects of a revival of scholarship at Byzantium under the Palaeologi. Planudes, Moschopulus, Thomas Magister, Demetrius Triclinius, and others had laid heavy hands on many texts and forced them to

conform to quite arbitrary canons of vocabulary, grammar, and metre. The same process of distortion was continued by the Greeks who taught in Italy before and after the fall of Constantinople. They were not always men of scholarly mind, and, with a few exceptions, excited the contempt of their keen-witted pupils in the West. Budaeus (Guillaume Budé), the French scholar, before he found a competent teacher in Janus Lascaris, had employed George Hermonymus of Sparta, but had made no progress under his tuition. 'Nisi quod legere optime et e more doctorum pronunciare uidebatur, expers erat omnis eruditionis: et qui pingendis litteris Graecis uictum quaerere tantummodo nosset.'[1]

Men such as Palaeocappa, Jacob Diassorinus, Andreas Darmarius were little better than Hermonymus.

The methods which Marcus Musurus (circ. 1470–1517) is known to have used in editing Hesychius will show how texts were treated by one of the best of the native Greek scholars, and it is unlikely that the far inferior scholars at the beginning of the century were more scrupulous. It was the custom of the early printers to use a codex as copy for their compositors.[2] Many codices have been lost in this way. The codex of Hesychius from which the Aldine edition of 1517 was printed is fortunately still preserved in the Library of St. Mark at Venice. Villoison in his *Anecdota Graeca* (ii. 256) shows how Musurus has prepared the codex for the use of the printer. He has run his pen through such compendia and ligatures as presented any difficulty and has

[1] Cf. Legrand, *Bibliog. Hell.* i, p. cxliii.

[2] An illustration is given here of the treatment of codex Reginensis gr. 173 by the editors of the ed. pr. of Galen published in 1525. The codex was used as the copy for Galen's commentary on Hippocrates *περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου*. The initial words of proper names have been indicated in capital letters in the margin; the Lemmata (or text of Hippocrates) upon which Galen is commenting have been written in full in the margin, since the writer of the codex had only given the beginning and ending: spellings are altered in the text: and the printer's signature of sheet 13 Aa is written in the margin and marked by a bracket in the text. This illustration is reproduced (by permission) from J. Mehwaldt's article in *Sitzungsberichte der kgl. Preuss. Akad., phil.-hist. Klasse*, vol. xxxix, 1912.

re-written them in full in the margin. He has carefully arranged the syllables which were wrongly united or divided in the original and has silently introduced a multitude of corrections, additions, omissions, and transpositions. His employer Aldus speaks with pride in the preface of the results achieved. 'Quantum per occupationes licuit, diligenter recognouit, fecitque, licet cursim, πατρὸς ἀρείω.' Villoison with more truth speaks of 'l'original que Musurus a si étrangement dénaturé'. (Legrand, *B. H.* i, p. cxvii.) A good instance of the less fortunate corrections which he has made can be seen s.v. ἄελλα· συστροφὴ ἀνέμου καὶ κονιορτὸς ἀπὸ ἀεινοσετὶ πνεῖν (cod.) ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεὶ νοσερόν τι πνεῖν (Musurus). The correct reading is ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀεῖν ὃ ἐστὶ πνεῖν.

On the whole, the Greeks were too incompetent and the Italians too impatient for the work which they attempted. Yet it is well to remember that many scholars (e.g. Michael Apostolios, Valla, Politian, Marullus) reached a high level of excellence, in spite of the difficulties by which they were hampered.[1]

Even the worst scholars shot so many arrows that some were

[1] I quote two of Politian's notes at length as showing the soundness of his method.

Politian, *Lib. Miscell.* p. 278, ed. Bas., cap. lxi:

'Verba . . . uitiose posita in Plinianis his codicibus reperiuntur hoc modo; *Vinum potaturus rex, memento te bibere sanguinem terrae. Sicuti uenenum est homini cicuta, ita et uinum.*'

'Leuis profecto sententia, nimisque uiolenta et coacta, *uinum esse homini uenenum sicuti cicutam.* Sed enim in uetustissimo illo Medicae familiae Pliniano codice, sic inuenias; *Cicuta homini uenenum est, cicutae uinum.* Nam ut hominem cicuta, sic cicutae uirus meri potus extinguit. Ex eoque persuadere Alexandro nititur Androcides, ut tanquam re potentissima parcius utatur uino, quod ueneni uenenum fit.'

Ib. c. xx. Suet. *Nero* xlv. 'Vitiati deprehenduntur Suetoniani codices in Nerone. Nam sic utique in omnibus: *Alterius collo et scopa deligata, simulque titulus: Ego quid potui? sed tu culleum meruisti.* Nam neque scopa latine dicitur numero singulari: et si maxime dicatur, nihil tamen commercii scopis et culleo. Sed enim in uetustis exemplaribus uestigium, ut arbitror, extat incolumis, ueraeque lectionis, hoc modo: *Alterius collo ascopa deligata.* Quare si literam penultimam *per* scripseris, *Ascopera* fiet, quod et esse rectissimum puto: siquidem est Ascopera saculus pelliceus. . . . Haec ergo fuit ascopera Neronianae statuae collo deligata, cullei symbolum, quoniam matricida.'

There is an excellent discussion of the name Vergilius in cap. lxxvii, pp. 286-7.

certain to find the mark. Unless this is remembered it is very easy to form a wrong estimate of the manuscripts which have survived from this period. The value of a codex of the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries cannot always be estimated by the good readings which it contains. Such good readings, it is true, may be inherited from a good and early tradition which has been defaced by later corruptions, but it is essential before making this assumption to consider whether they are not merely the fortunate conjectures of some scholar of the Renaissance. In Plaut. *Pseud.* 1063 the Palatine family of manuscripts read: 'Viso quirerum (*or* quiserum) meus Ulixes egerit.' The *editio princeps* (Z) has the right reading, 'Viso quid rerum &c.', which is also preserved in the Ambrosian palimpsest. But it would be vain to suppose that Z had inherited this good reading from a tradition similar to that preserved in the Ambrosian. It is merely a fortunate conjecture of some scholar of the Renaissance. An unfortunate conjecture of similar origin can be seen in the reading of the Leipzig codex (F), 'Viso quid seruus meus Ulixes egerit.'

In some authors (e.g. Aristotle's *Poetics*) it is very difficult to form a correct estimate of the character of the manuscripts belonging to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The tendency of modern criticism, however, is to distrust them, and not to accept their good readings as credentials for the other possible readings which they offer.

[The main authorities are:

Giesebrecht, W. *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis medii aevi saeculis.* Berlin, 1845. Tr. into Italian by C. Pascal, Florence, 1895.

Nolhac, P. de. *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini.* 1887.

Sabbadini. *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli xiv e xv.* 1905.

Sandys, J. E. *Harvard lectures on the Revival of learning.* 1905.

Voigt, G. *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums.* Third edition by M. Lehnerdt, 1893.]

CHAPTER VI

RECENSION

In the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to summarize the history of the large body of documents by means of which classical texts have been preserved till the invention of printing. In the present chapter we shall consider the Criticism of documents, i. e. the methods by which the evidence which they contain is to be interpreted and controlled so as to enable the authentic text to be recovered as far as possible.

Textual Criticism, as it is now understood, is divided into two processes: (1) Recension, (2) Emendation. By Recension is meant the selection of the most trustworthy documentary evidence as a basis on which to found the text. Such a selection, of course, is only possible after a critical examination of all the evidence that is available. Emendation is the attempt to eliminate the residuum of error which even the best documents will be found to contain. It is an attempt to transcend the tradition. It is, therefore, a deliberate overruling of the written evidence, and its results (unless confirmed by the discovery of fresh documentary evidence) are never certain, but can only attain to probability.

An adequate method of Recension has only been rendered possible by the growth of Palaeography, i. e. the scientific study of ancient documents—the hands in which they are written, the age to which they belong, and generally speaking the purposes, methods, and circumstances which influenced the men who produced them.

The scientific criticism of documents of any kind is developed late in the history of Western Europe. Throughout the Middle Age the cry for accuracy and authenticity goes up, but with little result. Important interests hung upon such documents as charters; and churches, monasteries, and towns forged them in

large numbers in their anxiety to confirm privileges which they possessed by right or usurpation.[1] In the absence of any knowledge of palaeography such documents might be suspected, but there was no means of testing them, and the helplessness of the times is seen in the various devices, such as the oath or duel, which were sometimes employed in default of proper proofs of trustworthiness.[2] A more effective safeguard was the enrolment of documents upon registers, a practice inherited from Greece and Rome. But such registers were always liable to be destroyed in time of war or civil disturbance.

If there was difficulty in estimating the character of so short a document as a charter, there was a far greater difficulty in securing purity of text in the larger ecclesiastical documents that were in constant use. It was recognized that age afforded a presumption of accuracy: but if it was impossible to refer to an old copy there was no means of getting beyond the corruptions which in the course of time had defaced the original text. A good example of such corruption is to be seen in the famous and widespread Rule of St. Benedict. This was composed by the saint himself at Monte Cassino, circ. 550 A. D., and written in the vernacular Latin of the period. During the two succeeding centuries the text assumed a different form, owing to the accidental corruptions introduced by copyists, and the intentional alterations made by monks, who were either ashamed of the vernacular style of their founder, or were unable to understand it. In consequence of the uncertainty which began to surround the text of the Rule, Charlemagne, in 787, on learning that there was a codex at Monte Cassino which was reputed to be in the handwriting of St. Benedict himself, had a copy made so as to provide a standard text for the monasteries of the Benedictine order throughout his dominions. About the year 816 two monks named Grimwald and Tatto made a similar copy, which they sent to their master Reginbert at Reichenau in Bavaria. But they placed the readings of the modern and interpolated

[1] Cf. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique*, pp. 877 sqq.

[2] Cf. Wattenbach, *Schriftwesen*, p. 7.

version in the margin of their copy 'desiderantes utrumque uos et secundum traditionem pii patris etiam modernam habere. Eligite uobis quod desiderabili placuerit animo.' Up to 800 the interpolated version rules in France, Germany, and England. In the next century the pure text is current in Germany. But in a short time there is a conflict between the two versions which 'ends in a disgraceful peace'.[1] It is a striking illustration of the helplessness of the Middle Age in textual criticism when an important community such as the Benedictines finds a difficulty in preserving the text of a work which, as Traube says, 'has a better attested tradition than the text of any ancient book except Jerome's version of the Bible and the Collection of the Canon law.'[2]

The impulse towards a critical treatment of documents came from the attacks made upon a number of forgeries which had been accepted by the mediaeval Church. These are known as the False Decretals, a series of papal decrees and other documents which were put forth in the West Frankish kingdom in the ninth century under the mask of a certain Isidorus Mercator, in order to strengthen the power of bishops. Their authenticity was successfully impugned by Nicolaus Cusanus (d. 1464). With them was included the so-called Constantine Donation, a forgery of the eighth century which purported to be a conveyance by the Emperor Constantine, on his conversion, of the sovereignty over Rome and all Italy to Pope Silvester and his successors. This was shown to be spurious by Lorenzo Valla (d. 1457).

This spirit of criticism, which was the fruit of the Renaissance of learning in Italy, had far-reaching developments during the next century. Its first effect was seen in the all-important domain of Theology in the growth of Protestantism. Behind Luther (1483–1546) and the other leaders of the Reformation were critical students of ecclesiastical history such as Matthias Flacius (1520–1575). He and his successors, the Magdeburg

[1] Traube, *Textgeschichte der Regula S. Benedicti*, 1898, and 1910, criticized by Butler, *Downside Review*, 1899, and *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1902, p. 458.
[2] Ib. p. 604.

Centuriators, analysed the mass of legends and falsifications which had overgrown the history of the mediaeval Church. Among the laity the counterpart of this movement is found in the works of Montaigne (1533–1592), who is no sceptic, but the enemy of intellectual fanaticism in every form since he requires belief to be tested by reason and experience. The reaction which followed had one good result. It forced the opponents of the new spirit to examine their documents, and rendered accessible a mass of material which had hitherto lain hidden in the archives of individuals or corporations. Its influence upon ecclesiastical texts is seen in the inauguration in 1643 of the edition of the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Jesuit scholar, John Bolland (1596–1655) of Antwerp. After his death the pendulum swung back, and the undertaking, which had been conceived in a conservative spirit, assumed a very different form in the hands of his successors, Daniel Papebroch and Gottfried Henschen. In 1675 Papebroch, by his preface to the new volume of *Acta*, aroused the hostility of two powerful orders—of the Carmelites, by rejecting the legend that the prophet Elijah had founded their order on Mount Carmel; and of the Benedictines, by denying the authenticity of the Merovingian documents, which were the chief credentials for many of the Benedictine monasteries in France.

The replies of the two orders were curiously different. The Carmelites invoked the Spanish inquisition, which suppressed the offending work in 1695. The Benedictines founded the science of Palaeography.

The Benedictine order had been revived in France in 1618 under the new title of the Congrégation de Saint-Maur, through the efforts of Dom Bénard. During the next fifty years its members had recovered their ancient reputation for learning. At the time of Papebroch's attack their foremost scholar was Jean Mabillon (1632–1707), of the monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, near Paris. Mabillon soon found that he could effect nothing without a more extensive acquaintance with documents than could be acquired within the walls of his own monastery,

and made a journey in 1680 through Lorraine in order to complete the material for his work *De Re Diplomatica*, which was published in 1681. As its title shows, it deals mainly with the palaeography of official documents or 'diplomata', and only cites the evidence of manuscripts by way of illustration. Papebroch was generous enough to recognize the merits of his opponent's work, which can justly be said to have laid the foundations upon which textual criticism has since been built.[1]

It was not long before it was recognized that the problems presented by charters and manuscripts were widely different. In dealing with charters the critic is for the most part working upon documents which claim to be originals or carefully certificated copies of originals. He has therefore to decide whether the handwriting (among other indications) justifies their claim to belong to a certain age. But a manuscript is at the best but a distant descendant from the text originally written by the author and must frequently present the author's words in a gravely mutilated form.

It was Mabillon's work which inspired the kindred studies of Bernard de Montfaucon, also a Benedictine from St. Maur, whose great work entitled *Palaeographia Graeca* appeared in 1708.

But though the new science of palaeography was founded it was

[1] Other Jesuit scholars, from their dislike of the Benedictines, who at this period were suspected of leaning towards Jansenism, continued to maintain the position which Papebroch had prudently surrendered. Among these were Barthélemy Germon and Jean Hardouin (1646–1729). Hardouin (who was no mean scholar, as can be seen from his Delphin edition of Pliny's *Natural History*) maintained in 1693 the extreme paradox that, with the exception of Cicero, Pliny the Elder, and parts of Vergil and Horace, all the surviving classical writers were forgeries dating only from the Renaissance. Such extravagant scepticism refuted itself. Germon, a few years later, upheld the more possible thesis that all codices had been corrupted, i. e. interpolated at various periods. The controversies thus aroused were valuable in so far as they attracted the attention of scholars towards manuscripts rather than charters. Germon's attack upon Coustant, the Benedictine editor of Hilarius *de Trinitate*, in which he accused his opponent of printing a reading which (as he maintained) rested on an alteration made by some early Adoptianist heretic, led to a protracted discussion which did much to fix the date of the half-uncial hand. (Traube, *Vorlesungen*, i. 34.)

long before its full significance was understood.[1] The true classification of handwritings, their descent from earlier hands, their affinities with one another, have all had to be investigated by a long line of researchers before it has been possible to assign a reasonably accurate date to an undated manuscript. Until it was possible to classify manuscripts according to age no really scientific basis could be found for criticism. Such a classification was only rendered possible in Latin manuscripts by the discoveries of Maffei (see note below) in the eighteenth century, and the effect of his discoveries was not fully felt till the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The full significance of modern textual criticism will only be appreciated if we take a brief survey of the empirical methods employed by some of the earlier scholars.

The difficulties which confronted classical scholarship after it had emerged from the wild enthusiasms of the Renaissance can all be referred to the dearth of good manuscripts. Unless he was prepared to face the danger and expense of travel, the ordinary man was confined to the few libraries within reach of his native town. Scholars who could travel outside their own country in attendance on some rich patron were unusually fortunate. Part of the success of Dionysius Lambinus, the great French scholar (1520–1572), was due to the experience

[1] In Latin it owes its development to the labour of a number of subsequent scholars. Scipione Maffei (1675–1755), of Verona, discovered a mass of ancient Latin manuscripts in the Chapter Library at Verona in 1713. With the aid of these he was able to correct Mabillon's theory of 'National' hands, and to put forward the now accepted view that all the Western systems of writing are descended from the different forms (Majuscule, Minuscule, Cursive) of the Roman hand alone. A further impetus to research was given by the discovery in 1717 by von Hutten and Eckhardt of a large number of early manuscripts in the Cathedral at Würzburg, where they had been hidden since the Swedish invasion of 1631. In 1747 J. L. Walther published his *Lexicon Diplomaticum*, i.e. a dictionary of contractions. Between 1750 and 1765 Tassin and Toustain, two Benedictines, published anonymously their *Traité de Diplomatique*, a masterly survey of all previous materials, which for the first time proved the separate existence of the capital, uncial, and half-uncial hands. Greek palaeography made little progress between the time of Montfaucon and F. J. Bast, whose best-known work is his *Commentatio Palaeographica* appended to Schaefer's edition of Gregorius Corinthius, Leipzig, 1811.

which he gained in the libraries of Venice and Rome under the protection of Cardinal Tournon. But even when a library was accessible it was often difficult to know what it contained, since there were no printed catalogues, and often no catalogues at all. A stranger was frequently denied access to material which he had reason to believe was in existence through the jealousy or indifference of custodians, as Mabillon and Montfaucon found when they inquired for the manuscripts which were known to have belonged to the Cathedral at Verona and as Isaac Vossius found in Rome. There was every temptation therefore for a scholar to abandon all laborious research for fresh material, and to content himself with what lay ready to his hand.

An early group of scholars who refused to follow these easy paths were the friends of Erasmus, who gathered round him during his residence in Basel between 1521 and 1529 and transmitted to Switzerland and Northern Germany the humanism of the Italian Renaissance. Erasmus had shown his powers as a critic of texts by his work upon the New Testament (though here his work was marred by haste), on St. Jerome, where he endeavoured to discriminate methodically between the genuine and the spurious, and by editions of Aristotle, Ptolemy, and many other classical writers. Among his friends were Beatus Rhenanus, the editor of the *editio princeps* of Velleius (1520), which is based upon the lost Murbacensis; Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541), the discoverer of the Laureacensis of Livy 41–45; Johannes Sichardus (1499–1552) and Bonifatius Amerbach (1495–1562), two jurists in an age when jurists were also scholars. To the same group belonged Sigismundus Gelenius (1497–1554), who edited Ammianus and Livy, the first from the lost Hersfeldensis, and the second, in partnership with Rhenanus, from the Spirensis and the Moguntinus.

I quote an extract from Gelenius's preface to Livy to show the spirit in which these men approached their task:

'Primum uir acerrimi ingenii Rhenanus, diligenti habita per collegia simul et coenobia conquisitione, genuinum exemplar omnium qui extant Liuii librorum, excepta dimidia decade tertia,

sibi comparauit: eo consilio, ut praelucente antiqua lectione, facilius mendarum tenebras discuteret. Quis enim non uideat, ubi uetera archetypa tam inter se consentiunt, quam a uulgatis editionibus dissonant, multo quum expeditius tum certius sinceram lectionem restitui posse?'

Speaking of his own work, he continues:

'Ne quis igitur mihi hic protinus reclamet, tolli receptam lectionem: sed prius consideret, quid sublatum, quidue repositum. Equidem eam lectionem pro recepta habendam censeo, quae ante annos plus mille recepta est, quam quae proximis annis per typographorum oscitantiam primum irrepsit, mox numerosa uoluminum propagine latius in dies inualuit, doctis interim uel dissimulantibus uel aliud agentibus.'[1]

In the second half of the sixteenth century the main current of classical learning flows through France and the Netherlands. In the first half the French genius had wasted itself upon a rather barren admiration for Cicero, an importation from Italy which had been accepted by Dolet and others. Erasmus had done his best to kill this pedantic trifling in his dialogue 'Ciceronianus', published in 1528. Scaliger's father had crossed swords with him intemperately and unsuccessfully. The next generation addressed themselves to the serious business of scholarship. Their success was in part due to the political condition of France at this time. The wars of religion set free many of the treasures which had been lying unused in the French monasteries for centuries. Houses such as Fleury were captured and pillaged by the Huguenots. Many of the valuable codices which they contained perished, but many more were sold by the despoilers and found their way into the great private collections which were formed at this time by scholars, jurists, theologians, and men of affairs—in short, by every cultivated man who could afford the expense. Among these may be mentioned Cujacius (1522–1590), the greatest of French jurists; Pierre Daniel (1530–1603) of Orléans, a scholar as well as a lawyer, who was the first to publish the complete version of

[1] *Annotationes B. Rhenani et Sig. Gelenii in extantes T. Liuii libros*, Lugduni, 1537. Preface, pp. 8, 9.

Servius's commentary on Vergil, and who purchased a great part of the library of S. Benoît-sur-Loire at Fleury from the soldiers who had plundered it in 1562; Iacobus Bongarsius, jurist and diplomat (1554–1612), editor of Justin; Petrus Pithoeus (1539–1596), a pupil of Cujacius, and author of an edition of Juvenal and Persius in 1585 based upon his own codex, in which he made the first advance in the study of these authors. These were all rich men who could afford to possess manuscripts. In the Netherlands we get poorer men filled with an equal enthusiasm for classical antiquity, who had to content themselves with exploring and registering the material that was in the possession of others, in their own country or abroad. To these belonged Ludovicus Carrio (1547–1595), who travelled through Belgium and Holland making catalogues of the chief libraries; and Franciscus Modius (1556–1597), a veritable Ulysses among scholars, who accompanied Carrio on many of his journeys and pushed his own research further afield in Germany. It is men such as these, none of them scholars of the first rank, who stand behind the great protagonists of learning—a Scaliger or a Lipsius. A few extracts from Modius's works may be given here since they show that the proper balance between manuscript authority and conjecture is not a discovery of modern times. In his *Vegetius*, published in 1580, he says:

'Satis habeat lector, nihil temere aut sine librorum auctoritate in hac nostra editione tentari aut loco suo moueri.' (p. 28.)

And again in the same book:

'Sine quibus (sc. codicibus) nugas agat et temere adeo faciat meo quidem iudicio, qui auctorem aliquem recensendum in manus sumat. Enim periculosa est semper in alieno opere nimia diligentia: tantoque periculosior quanto is, qui in tali negotio uersatur, eruditione et ingenio excellit aut certe excellere postulat.' (Letter of Dedication to the *Vegetius*.)

Conjecture can easily become a danger:

'Neque enim eorum industriam laudare potui, qui, his praesidiis (sc. codicum) destituti, ad nudas coniecturas dilabuntur et sola ingenii fiducia quosuis auctores emendare aggrediuntur.' (Preface to Poems of Vegius, 1579.)

Yet the same century which produced men of the stamp of Modius saw a doubtful service rendered to scholarship by H. Stephanus (1528–1598), when he constructed what long remained the vulgate texts of many of the classics. His work, like that of the Renaissance editors, was a response to a widespread demand for readable texts. It was, however, perverse and uncritical, as was immediately seen by good scholars such as Scaliger.[1]

In the first half of the seventeenth century in France scholarship was diverted to patristic studies under the influence of the Jesuits, who championed the counter-reformation. They tended to treat Greek as the language of heresy, and allowed the study of it to wither and almost to disappear. In Germany the development promised by the groups of scholars and literati who gathered in such centres as Cologne (e.g. Melchior Hittorpius 1525–1584, Ianus Gulielmius 1555–1584, Iohannes Metellus 1520–1597) and Heidelberg (F. Sylburg 1536–1596, and others) was arrested by the thirty years' war (1618–1648). In the Netherlands alone scholarship remained to all appearance in a state of overwhelming prosperity, which continued down to the second half of the eighteenth century. In many departments of the study of antiquity, such as history, law, and archaeology, the achievements of the Dutch scholars were undeniably great, but if we consider what progress they made towards founding a methodical criticism of texts the answer must be that their work is on the whole disappointing. They expended their labour mainly upon Latin literature, and in Latin they preferred the poets to the prose-writers. On its best side their criticism always shows immense erudition, and often tact, taste, and ingenuity. On its worst it is irrelevant, diffuse, and too prone to rash conjecture. They always seem to be appealing to manuscripts in order to tinker the vulgate text, instead of casting aside the vulgate and starting afresh from the most ancient and authoritative sources, as even the humbler scholars

[1] Who describes him as a man 'qui φιλαυτίᾳ laborans temere quidquid displicet immutat et corrumpit'. *Prima Scaligerana* s.v. *Erotianus.*

of the previous century had endeavoured to do. Hence though they cannot be said to have neglected manuscript authority, yet they make no attempt to gain a comprehensive view of the tradition or to arrange the available manuscripts in groups or to quote them systematically. Havercamp as late as 1725, with the two Vossiani of Lucretius at his elbow, failed to see their real importance or even to report them accurately. Hence the texts produced by this school are nearly always eclectic and their criticism desultory and subjective. We must not, of course, forget the temptations and difficulties which stood in their way. Fine minds like Nicolaus Heinsius (1620–1681) were drawn off into diplomacy and political affairs. But great and small alike were flattered by the demands of a large and cultivated public, which, as usual, got what it demanded and deserved. Accordingly texts, commentaries, and handbooks poured from the Dutch presses in an unceasing flood, till in the Variorum editions of men like the younger Burman (1714–1778) the original current of scholarship lost all freshness, depth, and force. The wandering enthusiast like Modius, who had done so much for scholarship in the sixteenth century, was replaced by men holding comfortable academic positions, sure of their public, and dead to all enterprise.[1] At the same time we must set their difficulties against their shortcomings. The lack of material or its inaccessibility was still a hindrance to progress. Public libraries, which alone have rendered true advance possible, were few and far apart. Private collectors were not always generous to unknown scholars: their collections were constantly passing into other hands, so that it was very difficult often to trace a manuscript which was known to be in existence; and private ownership increased the risk of loss and destruction.[2] It must be remem-

[1] Their empirical methods were far more successful in dealing with Latin poetry than in dealing with prose. In poetry the standards of language and metre were fixed once and for all by the great Augustan poets, such as Vergil or Ovid, and their authority remained paramount with all succeeding poets. But Cicero and Livy exercised no such influence over the later prose-writers. See Lucian Müller, *Gesch. der kl. Philologie in den Niederlanden*, 1869, p. 52.

[2] Gassendi in his life of Peiresc, 1655, p. 137, remarks: 'Expetebat uero ut

bered also that travel was still difficult and dangerous. In the second half of the seventeenth century, after the Peace of Münster in 1648, Holland enjoyed a period of internal peace and exceptional prosperity. But the rest of Europe, until the peace of Utrecht in 1713, was rent by disastrous wars, which rendered all intercommunication precarious.

The best expression of the highest aims of the scholarship of the seventeenth century is perhaps to be found in the work of J. F. Gronovius (1611–1671), a native of Hamburg, who completed his education in Holland and succeeded Daniel Heinsius as professor in Leyden in 1659. He travelled widely in Italy, France, and England in order to examine manuscripts, and devoted his energies mainly to the elucidation of Latin prose writers. I quote a few passages from his works, which show that his outlook was in advance of contemporary scholarship. It must be remembered, however, that he expresses an ideal which no man at the time was capable of realizing single-handed.

'Quare etsi non laudem audaces coniecturas, quibus nonnulli ueterem scripturam nimis transformauerunt, et membranis haerere tutissimum sit; tamen si quid illae huiusmodi asperi et scabri et senticosi exhibeant, id non tam malo, quia Minucii [he is speaking of the text of Minucius Felix] esse certum habeam, quam quia ex eo, quod auctoris fuerit, facilius elici posse non desperem. Non sunt enim codices antiqui sine mendis, etiam prodigiosis: et praeclare nobiscum agitur, cum signa ad salutem et ueram auctoris manum satis plana sunt ac certa: reliquum mens diuina plurimumque doctrinae studium et percognita scriptoris indoles ac natura praestabunt.' (I. F. Gronouii *Obseruatorum Monobibl.* 1651, p. 72.)

'Quod si caecum illud atque agreste literarum humanitatisque fastidium et noscendae antiquitatis barbara pigritia non intercessisset; tamen, quia calamis exemplaria exsignabantur, et a fide captuque librariorum pendebant, non utique legis Corneliae seueritatem aut, ut a iuratis opus exigeretur, metuentium; mirandum non erat, ut tabulae pictae quo saepius transferuntur, eo minus ueritati respondent, sic et ista paullatim minus exstitisse minusque sincera. Quid euenisse cogitabimus, dum inter tot saerari et bonae notae MSS. nisi quamprimum ederentur, asseruarentur saltem in publicis potius quam in priuatis bibliothecis; quod ea ratione longe minus malo fato forent obnoxii.'

cula aut abiecta quosuis (ut absint aliae noxae) omnia consumentis aeui casus experiuntur, aut tam infelicibus manibus atteruntur? Ecce aliud ex naufragio naufragium cum iam totum uideretur caelum nescioquid clarius relucere. Post longam intercapedinem rursus tandem ueterum facta conquisitio et necessitas agnita: inuentum formis describere libros [i.e. printing was discovered] et una opera prodere quantum liberet librorum: ita monasteriorum obsidione liberari, et passim salubri etiam annona, ne pretia legendi cupidos deterrerent, in manus uenire: cum interim qui officinis praeessent, ut tunc erat, praeter caeteros docti uisi, non in mendas tantum operarum, sed in ipsorum auctorum ingenium stylum uertere; ut quidque eruditius aut a uulgo remotum occurrisset, expungere; aliud usu plebeio tritum subicere; leues et una uel adiecta uel dempta uel correcta litera mutandos errores pro ingentibus lacunis de suo sarcire; nihil quod non adsequerentur, ita ut inuenerant, relictum pati. Actum erat de pulcherrimis reliquiis, et seruatae uidebantur, ut conseruandi specie tristius perirent, nisi homines in coniecturis sagaces et in discernendo acuti, quas earum quisque multum uersando et crebrius euoluendo et intentissima cura cum uniuersas tum per partes considerando arcanius introspexerant, ad annosissimas, quae possent haberi, membranas reuocassent, et quid ratio atque analogia sermonis, quid cuiusque auctoris genius et aetas, quid alii eandem materiam uel occupatam uel repetitam tractantes suaderent aut adspernarentur, quo sententia, quo literarum uetustissimae cuiusque manus ductus aurigarentur; haec aliaque eodem facientia bene meditati uindicanda et explananda, per quae ipsi profecissent melioremque animum haberent, iusta pietate suscepissent.' (*Obseruationum liber nouus*, 1652, Preface, p. 4 seq.)

The last great name before classical scholarship was revolutionized by F. A. Wolf and his pupils is undoubtedly that of Bentley (1662–1742). It cannot be doubted that almost all the principles of textual criticism which have since been recognized were really latent in his mind, and would have been developed by him if he had had adequate materials to work upon. As H. A. J. Munro says (*Lucretius*, vol. i, p. 17): 'Had Bentley in 1689 succeeded in his efforts to obtain for the Bodleian Isaac Vossius' famous library, he might have anticipated what Lachmann did by a century and a half.' If we consider his Horace by itself we must admit that he has often treated the text capriciously and emended the tradition where it was sound. But, even here, it should be noticed that his remark on *Car.* iii. 27.

15, 'Nobis et ratio et res ipsa centum codicibus potiores sunt,' which is so often quoted as typical of his arrogant methods, is qualified by the context, which is often omitted, 'praesertim accedente Vaticani ueteris suffragio.' His real view of the use of manuscripts, and his anxiety to estimate their value justly, is better expressed in his letter to G. Richter about a manuscript of Manilius.

'Illud quoque et heic et in aliis te admonuisse non erit inutile: multa scil. in uetustis MStis sub tempore renascentium litterarum iam ab annis circiter trecentis interpolata fuisse, et nouas lectiones intrudi solitas, prioribus erasis. Eas, si quae in uestro codice fuerint, ut sine dubio sunt, facile erit tibi dignoscere uel a colore atramenti, uel a ductu litterarum, uel a uestigiis rasurae quae nunquam euanescit. Illud igitur diligenter curabis, ut singula loca indices, quae a manu secunda et interpolatrice sint mutata: et, si fieri poterit, deprehendas, quid olim a prima manu scriptum fuerit, sub rasura illa nunc latitans.' (*Correspondence of Rich. Bentley*, ed. Wordsworth, p. 367.)

If, however, he had been able to complete his magnificent and well-considered scheme for an edition of the New Testament, where, as he himself admits, 'there is no place for conjectures or emendations,' and where all his alterations were to be guided by an appeal to ancient authorities, he could hardly have failed to have lighted upon a more scientific method of criticism. But as it was his project was premature, and failed because the mass of material that required to be considered was not sufficiently digested.[1]

[1] It might have been expected that the first advances in methodical criticism of manuscripts would have come from the study of the New Testament, since the material for the solution of the problem of the text there has always been so ample. The early scholars, however, were hampered by their theological prepossessions, e. g. Erasmus thought that age in a codex laid it open to the suspicion of having been altered so as to bring its text into accord with the Vulgate. The first advance is made by Richard Simon (1638–1712), a French Oratorian, whose *Histoire critique du Texte du N. T.* (1689), beside providing an historical introduction to the text, also attempts an estimate of the manuscripts known to him. Little progress was made for some time after this work, partly owing to the natural timidity of pious editors, partly owing to the vastness and complexity of the problem, and still more owing to the substantial excellence of even the worst tradition of the New Testament, where manuscripts which

The new and true method of Recension is first formulated by F. A. Wolf, perhaps the greatest and certainly the most stimulating scholar of the second half of the eighteenth century (1759–1824). The opening chapter of his Prolegomena to Homer, published in 1795, has laid down the lines followed by Immanuel Bekker and by Karl Lachmann, who may be taken as representing two subsequent stages in the development of modern textual criticism.

Wolf's doctrine, in brief, is that *all* the trustworthy witnesses to a text must be heard and heard *continuously* before a verdict is given. It is, he says, a 'recensio' and not a mere 'recognitio' that is required. Too often editors found their text on a number of manuscripts that they have arbitrarily selected, or even on one manuscript; or they pause only at the passages where the sense is obscure or the reading obviously corrupt. Then, and not till then:

'Ad uarias lectiones aut ad uetus exemplar confugiunt, surda plerumque oracula, nisi constanter consulentibus. . . . Iusta autem recensio bonorum instrumentorum omnium stipata praesidio, ubique ueram manum scriptoris rimatur; scripturae cuiusque, non modo suspectae, testes ordine interrogat, et quam omnes annuunt, non nisi grauissimis de causis loco mouet; alia, per se scriptore dignissima, et ad ueritatem seu elegantiam sententiae optima, non nisi suffragatione testium recipit; haud raro adeo, cogentibus illis, pro uenustis infert minus uenusta; emplastris solutis ulcera nudat; denique non monstrata solum, ut mali medici, sed et latentia uitia curat.'

Conjecture is not banished from such a scheme of criticism, but it is only to be employed after the known sources of the text have been classified and their worth estimated.

'Acerrima eius (*sc.* ingeni) uis non temperata et subacta assiduo usu librorum in historicis et criticis rebus frustra laborat.

differ in age do not exhibit the marked contrast in tradition that is often so striking in classical authors. As Lachmann complains (*Kleinere Schriften*, vol. ii, p. 251) the older editors always asked, 'Is there any ground for departing from the established text?' instead of asking, 'Is there any ground for deserting the best attested reading?' Hence Lachmann felt himself to be following the lead of Bentley, and not of Bengel (1687–1752) and Griesbach (1745–1812), when he broke with the Textus Receptus altogether.

. . . Itaque ut ingenium, sicut par est, membranaceis thesauris longe praeferas [perhaps with a glance at Bentley's dictum quoted above], plurimum tamen interest ipsius ingenii, quam plurimos codices comparari, quorum testimoniis iudicium de uera lectione nitatur et multis modis adiuuetur diuinatio.'

Where Wolf has been refuted (e.g. in his criticism of Cicero's speeches *Post reditum*) it has been through the accession of fresh manuscripts—an argument which he would have been the first to acknowledge.

Bekker (1785–1871) devoted his life to the preparation of critical editions of Greek texts. The ferment throughout Europe which accompanied the French Revolution and led to the subsequent hegemony of France under Napoleon led to a quick advance in classical studies as in all other intellectual pursuits. The downfall of the old order brought with it the suppression of monasteries, whose treasures in manuscripts were gradually drafted into the great central libraries, such as Paris, Florence, Venice, and Munich. Many of the most famous Italian codices were brought to Paris by the French as the prizes of war (e.g. the two famous Venetian manuscripts of Homer and Aristophanes). Bekker was alive to the unique opportunity which presented itself, and spent the early part of his life in collating Greek manuscripts in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. His researches soon showed that there was a mass of manuscript evidence of higher antiquity than any that had yet been examined, and that the received texts of many authors rested upon unsure foundations, e.g. the whole problem of the text of Isocrates was changed by his discovery of the Urbinas (Γ) in the Vatican, and it was he who saw the great value of the Paris codex of Demosthenes (Σ), which had passed through the hands of inferior scholars such as the Abbé Auger (1790) without any appreciation of its merits. Manuscripts, except in rare instances, are not isolated and independent witnesses, but follow one or more lines of tradition, and along these lines of descent fall into various groups or families. Within these groups there may be manuscripts whose evidence is worthless because they only

repeat the evidence of earlier manuscripts which are still extant, from which they can be proved to have been copied.[1] This is the meaning of the dictum that codices should be weighed and not counted. For the problem of a textual apparatus can be simplified by eliminating all such purely derivative evidence: e.g. in Demosthenes the Bavaricus (B) is known now to be descended from the Venetus (F). It is therefore no longer necessary to collate every manuscript throughout, unless all can claim to be independent witnesses, and much of the labour of industrious scholars of the eighteenth century, such as the Jesuit Lagomarsini (who collated a large number of the manuscripts of Cicero), was thrown away. Bekker's name may conveniently be taken as marking a stage in the history of criticism, but his merits as a critic have often been overestimated. He gathered a vast mass of material, but his own work is not the architectonic construction of a master mind. He tended to treat the oldest MS. as *ipso facto* the best, and regarded the 'best family' of MSS. as the only trustworthy authority. This method is now known to be unsound. An equally serious fault in his texts is his neglect of Interpretation. This often leads him to follow his chosen MSS. in readings which are demonstrably wrong.[2]

[1] This is well expressed by Madvig (1804–1886) in his preface (1839) to his edition of the *De Finibus*, p. vi. (Ed. sec.): 'Si cui hoc negotium sit iudici, ut, cum, quid aliquando ab aliquo dictum sit, multi non satis constanter narrent, reperiat, quid in ea re uerum sit, is, si prudens sit, non solum hoc spectet in testibus audiendis, quam quisque per se ipse fidei opinionem afferat, sed ante omnia quaerendum sibi putet, quis a quo audierit, ut sic magnam et inconditam testium turbam ad paucos et certos redigat, a quibus ceteri rem acceperint; cum autem eos inuenerit, et illos alteros neglegat et hos quasi primi ordinis testes sic comparet contendatque, ut, quantam quisque sequentium multitudinem trahat, nihil ad rem pertinere iudicet. Nec aliter faciet peritus iudex, cum ex multis tabularum exemplis quaeretur, quid in uno aliquo testamento, quod non extabit, scriptum fuerit, nisi quod, quae illic de scriptura propagata hominum confessione reperiebantur, hic de scriptura propagata indiciis deprehendenda sunt tacitis. Ab hac quaestione uniuerso genere non distare eam, quam philologi in ueterum operum codicibus manuscriptis instituunt, nec aliter esse tractandam, non ita multi sunt anni, cum intellectum est, neque etiam nunc ab omnibus intellegi uidetur.'

[2] e.g. Aristot. *Probl.* 16. 8. 914^{b}9, pointed out by I. Bywater in *Journal of Philology*, xxxii, p. 108, where ἄλλου is a palpable error for αὐλοῦ.

Bekker had been content to analyse the existing manuscripts of an author in order to distinguish the best tradition or traditions that they contained. Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), a far greater critic, does not content himself with the evidence which our existing manuscripts contain, but asks whether it is not possible in some cases to push inquiry beyond the existing documents. Does not their present condition betray some of the characteristics of their lost ancestors, and is it not possible sometimes to show that a common [1] ancestor or archetype (to use the term which Lachmann first brought into use in this sense) lies behind all or some of them? I quote, in his own words, Lachmann's description of the method and aim of criticism:

'Ad scripta ueterum repraesentanda duabus diuersis utimur artibus: nam et qui scriptor, quid scripserit disputamus, et quo rerum statu quid senserit et cogitarit exponimus: quorum alterum sibi *iudicandi facultas* uindicat, alterum *interpretatione* continetur.

'Iudicandi tres gradus sunt *recensere*, *emendare*, *originem detegere*. Nam quid scriptum fuerit, duobus modis intellegitur, testibus examinandis, et testimoniis ubi peccant, reuocandis ad uerum: ita sensim a scriptis ad scriptorem transiri debet.

'Itaque ante omnia quid fidissimi auctores tradiderint quaerendum est, tum quid a scriptoris manu uenire potuerit iudicandum, tertio gradu quis quo tempore, qua condicione, quibus adminiculis usus scripserit explorandum [i.e. the so-called 'higher criticism']. Ex auctoribus quaerere, quod primo loco posui, id quod recensere dicitur, sine interpretatione et possumus et debemus: contra interpretatio, nisi quid testes ferant intellectum fuerit, locum habere, nisi de scriptore constiterit, absolui non potest: rursus emendatio et libri originis inuestigatio, quia ad ingenium scriptoris cognoscendum pertinet, tanquam fundamento nititur interpretatione.

'Quo fit ut nulla huius negotii pars tuto a ceteris separari possit, nisi illa una quae debet esse omnium prima: illam dico quae testium fidem perscrutatur et locupletissimis auctoribus tradita repraesentat.' (Preface to *Nouum Testamentum*, Berlin, 1842.)

The best illustration of Lachmann's methods is to be found in his solution of the difficulties of the text of Lucretius as given in his edition published in 1850. It is worth while to give a short account of the results which he obtained.

[1] It is a misuse of the term to speak of the 'archetype' of a single manuscript.

The text of Lucretius is preserved in a considerable number of manuscripts of different ages. One class of manuscripts, and the largest class, is Italian in origin. These are all descended from a codex, now lost, which was in the possession of Poggio in the fifteenth century. One of these, the Nicolianus (Laurent. xxxv. 30), is known to have been copied directly from Poggio's codex; but beside this there are many which are more remotely descended from the same source—eight at Florence, six at Rome, seven in England. As it is clear that all these are of the same class their evidence is only of value in order to reconstruct the readings of their lost ancestor. As the Nicolianus is known to be a direct copy of this lost codex its evidence is in itself almost sufficient for this purpose, and the remoter copies are only useful in so far as they supplement its occasional deficiencies. Beside the Nicolianus there are two Vossiani at Leyden (30 and 94), named by Lachmann, from their shape, the Oblongus and Quadratus respectively. They are clearly of greater importance than Poggio's codex, which agrees now with one and now with the other, and cannot consequently have been copied from either of them. Lachmann with peculiar insight saw that these three chief authorities, O Q N, presented a uniform text, and that beside their common readings certain other peculiarities pointed to a common archetype.

Codex O was in all probability copied direct from this archetype (which may be called A). Q and N are further removed from A, and are probably both descended from a codex that was a direct copy of A. This copy must have been made later than O, for by the time it was made the archetype A had been damaged, as Lachmann conclusively proved. Four sections of the poem (ii. 757–806; v. 928–79; i. 734–85; ii. 253–304) are placed at the end of Q and N out of their proper place. Each of these passages (with allowance for the sectional headings which are distributed throughout the poem) consists of 52 lines. There are indications elsewhere that the archetype had 26 lines to a page. It is clear therefore that four complete leaves had become detached in it, and had been inserted at the end by the

binder. From such evidence it was possible to discover the pagination of the archetype.

The influence of such conclusions upon the textual criticism of Lucretius was very great. The text, it was seen, depends in reality upon a single manuscript, whose existence Lachmann affirms with confidence in the opening words of his preface: 'Ante hos mille annos in quadam regni Francici parte unum supererat Lucretiani carminis exemplar antiquum e quo cetera, quorum post illa tempora memoria fuit, deducta sunt.'[1] The script was in rustic capitals (like the Medicean Vergil), not divided into separate words, though the sentences were marked by points in the middle of lines. The codex consisted of 302 pages, and was worn and mutilated. The bottom of the page was especially liable to danger, and hence Lachmann's conclusions as to the original pagination are of the highest value, since it is now known where exceptional corruption is to be expected. The condition of the archetype has justified the numerous transpositions which editors have made in the text. Verses accidentally omitted by a scribe were commonly inserted at the foot of a page in order not to spoil the look of his copy. No manuscript of a classical poet is entirely free from such errors. When, however, there are numerous independent manuscripts the lapses of one are corrected by the evidence of its rivals. Only when the surviving manuscripts are all ultimately descended from a single ancestor does the whole tradition become contaminated.

Before proceeding to discuss the various types of textual tradition it will be convenient to give a short description of the usual method followed in determining the relationship between a number of manuscripts of the same work. The best illustration of the problem involved in classification will be found in such works as Peterson's *Collations from the Codex Cluniacensis* and

[1] E. Chatelain in his *Facsimile*, Sijthoff, 1908, holds that between O, Q, N and this archetype there lies a manuscript written probably in an Irish hand of the seventh or eighth century.

A. C. Clark's *The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio* (both in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*).

(1) Before any classification can be attempted a critic must be assured that he is dealing with properly accredited evidence. In the case of manuscripts which are still extant there is hardly the possibility of a forgery passing unnoticed. There is just the possibility that a manuscript may have been tampered with: e.g. it is thought that some alterations have been made in Parisinus A of Theognis since Bekker's collation made circ. 1815. But where a manuscript is known to have existed, but has subsequently been lost and the report of its readings depends on the testimony of a single scholar, his bona fides must be carefully established. The greater scholars are generally above suspicion, e.g. N. Heinsius's collation of the lost Eboracensis of Tibullus is accepted universally. Lesser men, however, have from time to time endeavoured to gain credence (though no credit) for their own conjectures by attributing them to some manuscript which never existed, e.g. H. Stephanus in Euripides, Bosius in Cicero, and Caspar von Barth in various authors.

(2) Given a number of manuscripts containing the same matter, it is first necessary to classify them according to their age. A manuscript is rarely dated, and its age must usually be determined by palaeographical tests, which, since the invention of improved methods of photographic reproduction, increase in delicacy and certainty with every year. As a general rule the manuscript earliest in date is presumed to be the most valuable. This, however, is not always true. Age, as Wolf says, does not always bring wisdom.[1] Some very early palimpsests (e.g. the Vaticanus of Cicero's *Verrines*) are full of careless errors, and, as has already been shown, contaminated texts existed in very ancient times. The Valentianensis of the *Apocolocyntosis*, which belongs to the ninth or tenth century, is on the whole inferior to

[1] Cf. Wolf, *Prolegomena* (Calvary ed.), p. 3. 'Nouitas enim codicum non maius uitium est quam hominum adolescentia: etiam hic non semper aetas sapientiam affert: ut quisque antiquum et bonum auctorem bene sequitur, ita testis est bonus.'

the Sangallensis, which is a century later. So too Vaticanus 40 of Theocritus, a manuscript of the twelfth century, is of little value, and the Cryptoferratensis (palimpsest) of Strabo is worse than the Paris codex of the eleventh century. The manuscripts of Claudianus Mamertus are classed by the latest editor Engelbrecht in the following order: (1) M, 11th–12th cent.; (2) CG, 11th; (3) RH, 10th; (4) A, 9th; (5) B, early 10th. It is always possible that a late manuscript may have been copied directly from an old exemplar and be superior to its rivals which may be far earlier in date: e.g. Parisinus 1640 of Xenophon is dated A.D. 1320, but is known to be copied from a manuscript of the ninth century. Lagomarsinianus 42, containing Cicero's *Verrines*, is a late manuscript written in a rough cursive hand of the fifteenth century or later, but has long been recognized as a copy, in part, of an exemplar of high value—now identified with the recently discovered Cluniacensis.

(3) It is also necessary to determine whether the manuscript presents a text of the same quality throughout. Many manuscripts, especially if the text of the author is not one continuous whole, but an aggregate of separate units, such as speeches, poems, treatises, &c., have often been drawn from different originals and do not possess the same authority throughout. Thus the excellence of the text of Lag. 42 of the *Verrines* is only found in Act ii. 2 and 3. In the other parts it gives the vulgate text and is valueless. The Ambrosianus of Quintilian's *Institutio*, a manuscript of the eleventh century, does not present a text of uniform quality.

(4) It is necessary further to decide what is the reading of the first hand of a manuscript. This is often a matter of some difficulty when the manuscript has been 'corrected' throughout. There is always this tendency to 'correct' a text which shows any marked divergence from the vulgate. Lag. 42 has been corrected in this way in the *Verrines*, Act ii. 2 and 3, and brought into conformity with the inferior manuscripts. The same fate has befallen the Montepessulanus (P) of Juvenal.

The usual tests to decide the genealogical relationship between manuscripts are :

(1) Omissions of words and passages and transpositions of pages. Omissions are the surest test of affinity, since if they are numerous they can hardly have arisen by accident, and they cannot have been imported into a text by comparison with other manuscripts. They frequently imply a far closer connexion than could be inferred from identity of reading, and often show the immediate descent of one manuscript from another. Similarly the same transposition is hardly likely to have occurred independently in two manuscripts, but is a sure test of close connexion, e.g. in Vitruvius VII. ch. vi the same transposition is found in both the Harleian and the Gudianus.

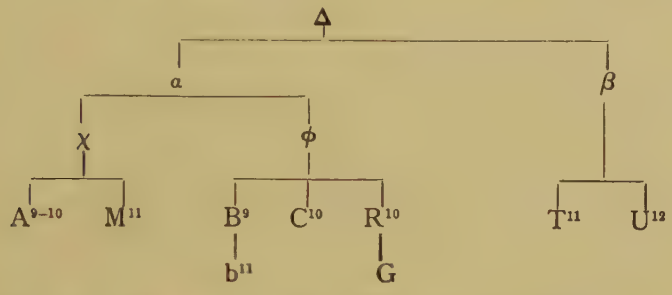
(2) Agreement in a number of peculiar readings or in other peculiarities. E.g. when some of the manuscripts of Livy x. 29. 7 agree in reading 'quibus plerisque in scuta uerarisquerutis in corpora ipsa fixis', it is clear that they must all have come from an original where the reading stood as *uerutis rarisque.* In Seneca's tragedies the manuscripts fall into two groups according to the order in which they place the plays.

(3) Where a manuscript is immediately copied from another extant manuscript it is rarely possible to mistake their connexion. It is betrayed by minute agreements, or mistakes which can often only be discerned in the manuscripts themselves or in the best photographic reproductions. E.g. in the Holkhamicus there is an apparently unmeaning K before the words 'Ad huius studium' in Cic. *In Cat.* i. 26. This is found in the Medicean and Ambrosian also.

(4) It must be remembered that the relationship between manuscripts is not always simple, i.e. each manuscript which is accepted as a factor in constructing the text is not necessarily descended from one single ancestor. The problem of relationship is often rendered exceedingly complex by the tendency which is variously described as 'contamination', 'mixture', or 'eclectic fusion' of the different groups. A scribe may have had before him an original filled with variants from which he has

made his own selection; or, he may have consulted more than one codex in making his copy. This tendency has prevailed from the earliest times (cf. p. 49).

As an instance of simple relationship the manuscripts of Caesar's *Gallic War* may be taken. Nine manuscripts, A, M, B, C, R, T, U, b, G, may be included in the first survey of the materials for the constitution of the text. Their relation to one another and to their ultimate archetype or common parent is shown by the following stemma:



Here the Greek letters denote manuscripts which are no longer in existence but whose existence at some time in the past must be assumed in order to explain the relation in which the extant manuscripts stand to each other. The numbers refer to the century in which these extant manuscripts were written. Of these nine manuscripts two (b G) can be eliminated at once since they are only copies of B and R respectively. The remaining seven fall into two well-marked groups. To the first group belong A M B C R. These, however, cannot all have been copied directly from the same exemplar, because they do not all exhibit the same uniform text, but show by their variations that their text has been transmitted through one or more intermediaries in its descent from their common parent α. A M have come by one line of descent which is here called χ: B C R by another which may be called φ.

To the second group β belong two manuscripts (T U), presenting a text which has been polished at some period by an editor who has endeavoured to tone down Caesar's terse and

vigorous style by touches of Ciceronian elegance (e.g. iv. 4. 7 'citra Rhenum erat' α: 'citra Rhenum qui in suis sedibus erat' β). But in spite of presenting a 'doctored' text the β-group is undoubtedly descended from the same archetype which lies behind the α-group.

If α and β, the two copies of Δ from which all the manuscripts spring, had been of equal value, the collective testimony of each group of their descendants would be of equal value. There would be no ground for attaching a higher value to the α-group merely because it includes a larger number of manuscripts.

One stage in the criticism of the text is to recover from its descendants the readings of the common original Δ. These readings will not all be recoverable, and when recovered will not necessarily always be correct, but they will show what was the condition of the text at a period anterior to that in which the existing manuscripts were written. Sometimes the date at which the archetype was written can be conjectured from the nature of corruptions found in its descendants. The ϕ-group write the word *nostri* in the contracted form $\dot{n}$. This was not a natural contraction of the word in the ninth and tenth centuries when these manuscripts were written, as is shown by the fact that they often misinterpret it and write *nisi* or *nihil*, or the meaningless *nim*. But it is a common contraction in manuscripts of the sixth century, and affords at least a presumption that ϕ itself was of that date. Δ therefore could not be later in date and might possibly be earlier.[1]

(1) Where all manuscripts agree in a reading, that reading must have been found in Δ: e.g. in 1. 53. 1 Δ read *quinque* or *V* since both α and β give this number. This is an instance where we are certain of the text of Δ, and also certain that the text is wrong, since it can be shown from the historian Orosius that the number should be *quinquaginta*.

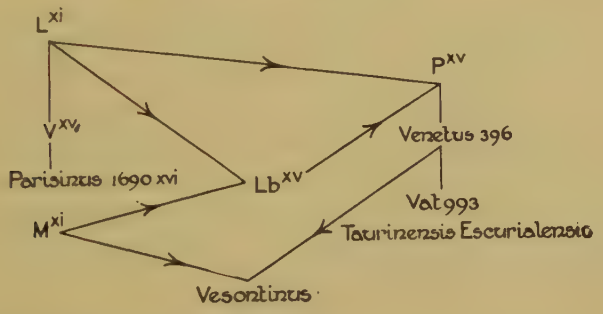
(2) When the two groups give conflicting readings, there can be no absolute certainty as to the reading in Δ unless the reading

[1] Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, p. 213.

given by the β-group obviously shows the hand of the editor; e.g. vii. 11. 8 *cuncti* α : *uiui* β. Either of these might have been in the archetype. In ii. 12. 1, however, where β reads *pauore* (*terrore* α) the picturesque touch of the grammarian is to be suspected, since *pauor* is not used elsewhere in the work.

(3) Where there is a cross-division between the members of the two groups, e.g. vi. 35. 9 *ne murus* T : *numerus* α U, it must be inferred that α U are the true representatives of the archetype, since it would be a most extraordinary coincidence if six manuscripts all misread *ne murus* as *numerus*. Here again Δ is wrong and the good reading in T must be due to the conjecture of some unknown scholar or to 'mixture' (p. 130) with some other source than Δ.

The following diagram will illustrate the attempt that is sometimes made to represent the mixed descent of manuscripts by means of a stemma. The manuscripts in question are the chief authorities for the text of Cassius Dio:



This may be interpreted as follows:

The two main authorities are L and M. L has a direct descendant in V, which, of course, is only valuable in passages where L has suffered injury since the time when V was copied from it.

Lb is a mixed manuscript. The scribe who wrote it had before him both L and M, and selected his text now from one and now from the other. This was a common practice in all ages, and was especially common during the Renaissance.

P is not a mixed manuscript in this sense, but might rather be termed composite. The greater portion of it was copied from Lb and it therefore exhibits the mixed text of its parent. But as Lb only begins with Book 42 (Books 36–41 having been intentionally omitted) the scribe of P copied the missing books from L. In these books therefore it is a direct descendant of L.

The problem of recension is not always so simple as Lachmann has made it in Lucretius. It will be convenient therefore to consider some of the main types of tradition which the texts of classical authors present.

A text may be preserved—

(A) In one manuscript only,

(B) In a number of manuscripts which present a uniform tradition,

(C) In manuscripts which present two or more traditions which are not reconcilable.

(A) *The text depends upon a single manuscript.* Such a manuscript may be an early papyrus roll, e.g. Bacchylides, Aristotle's Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, Hyperides, Herodas; or a codex, e.g. the Hymn to Demeter, the fifth Decade of Livy, Tacitus' *Annales*, Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*; or a palimpsest, e.g. Fronto, Gaius, Cicero's *De Republica*, and Symmachus' *Speeches*. In some instances the codex has disappeared, and the only evidence rests upon a printed edition based upon it or upon a late transcript, e.g. Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, where the only authority which preserves the readings of a lost codex of Iohannes Sambucus is the *editio princeps* of Gerhard Falkenburg, Terentianus Maurus (*editio princeps* 1497, derived from the lost codex Bobiensis), Velleius Paterculus (Amerbach's copy of the lost codex Murbacensis), Hyginus (edition of Micyllus, Basel, 1535, which preserves the readings of the lost Frisingensis).

(B) *The text is preserved in a number of manuscripts which present a uniform tradition.* The aim in criticism in such cases is to analyse the relations of the manuscripts to one another in order to see whether they cannot be proved to be derived from some

existing manuscript which is their ancestor, or whether they do not imply the existence of some lost archetype.

(1) *Where such a parent codex is extant* the problem of recension is at once simplified, because the derivative copies can be disregarded except in places where the original source has been damaged since the copies were made; e.g. in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (apart from the Epitome) all manuscripts are ultimately derived from the Marcianus (A) of the tenth century, through a copy made in Venice in the fifteenth century. Here the parent codex is still intact. In the *Protrepticus* and *Paedagogus* of Clemens Alexandrinus the archetypal codex is known to be P (= Paris. Gr. 451, formerly belonging to Arethas), which since the time when some of the other manuscripts were copied from it has lost five quaternions or quires each of four leaves. Accordingly it is not possible to rely on P alone.

(2) *The parent codex is now lost though it is known to have existed.* In such cases its readings have to be reconstructed from the evidence of its descendants; e.g. all the extant manuscripts of Catullus are known to be descended from the lost Veronensis which was discovered early in the fourteenth century. There are more than seventy manuscripts of the fifteenth century which are descendants of this original. Three copies alone (the Sangermanensis, Oxoniensis, and Romanus) are known to belong to the fourteenth century. Here the problem of criticism is very difficult, since owing to the interpolations of scholars of the period of the Renaissance even the consensus of the best codices does not necessarily imply the correctness of a reading. Whenever the tradition of an author depends upon interpolated manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this difficulty always arises and often defeats criticism in poetic texts. Prose authors are not so severely handled, as may be seen from the condition of the text of Cicero's *Orator* and *De Oratore*, which have been transmitted in Renaissance copies of the Laudensis, a manuscript of the ninth century discovered by Gherardo Landriani, Bishop of Lodi (1418–27).

The *Siluae* of Statius offer an instance where criticism has

been able to effect more in a tradition of this type. The manuscripts of these poems are all directly derived from a codex discovered by Poggio while at the Council of Constance in 1417. A copy of this manuscript was made for Poggio by an ignorant scribe and sent by him to Italy. The manuscripts of the *Siluae* that are of any importance are nine in number. Five of these (the Vallicellianus, Reginensis, and three Vaticani) form a separate group which can be shown to be descended from the Vallicellianus. The Vallicellianus itself is descended from the Matritensis, from which the remaining three (Bodleianus, Budensis, Rehdigeranus) are descended mediately or immediately. Thus the Matritensis emerges as the archetype of all existing manuscripts and the nine witnesses are reduced to one. It only remains to carry the solution of the problem a step farther and identify the Matritensis (as many critics do) with the copy originally made for Poggio.

(3) *The uniformity of the text implies an archetype of whose existence, however, there is no external evidence.* This does not exclude the possibility of the manuscripts falling into two or more families which reproduce the archetype with more or less fidelity; e.g. in Ovid's *Heroides* the manuscripts fall roughly into two families—the one in Carolingian, the other in Lombardic handwriting. But all must be derived from the same archetype, since all omit ii. 18–19. So, too, all the manuscripts of Juvenal break off abruptly in the sixteenth satire and all manuscripts of Suetonius omit the beginning of the life of Iulius.

Each text of this kind presents a different problem. It may be certain that the text is uniform while the divergences of the surviving manuscripts are very great. Accordingly every manuscript may be a factor in determining the true text, and it is rash to rely merely on the older manuscripts as critics have often done; e.g. in the text of Aristophanes the tradition represented by the Aldine edition has probably been unduly neglected in favour of the tradition of the older manuscripts the Ravennas and Venetus.

Among uniform texts in Greek may be classed: Aeschylus,

Sophocles (excluding the worthless Triclinian recension), Antiphon, Andocides, Lycurgus, Aeschines (where the manuscripts are in three families all derived from a faulty archetype), and Demosthenes (where no manuscript preserves any speeches beyond those held to be genuine by Callimachus).

In Latin: Propertius, Seneca rhetor, Vitruvius, Valerius Flaccus, Q. Curtius, and Celsus.

(*C*) *The manuscript tradition is not uniform but shows marked differences in the two or more lines which it follows.*

(1) Such divergence may date from the author himself and be due to the publication of several editions of his work. E. g. in Martial's Epigrams three archetypes are now recognized: α, an 'elegant' edition (as Lindsay calls it) which omits gross expressions; β, which preserves the recension of Torquatus Gennadius, *c.* A.D. 401; and γ, the vulgate text. Preserved in these three editions are readings that seem to go back to the author himself. Certainly none of the ordinary corruptions lie behind them: e.g. in x. 48. 23 A has 'de prasino uenetoque meus conuiua loquatur', where B C imply *Scorpoque* for *uenetoque*. It is possible that Martial himself originally wrote *Scorpoque* and emended it to *uenetoque* after the death of *Scorpus* had robbed the line of its original point. The text of Ausonius presents two editions which do not always cover the same ground. One—known as the Tilianus edition from the codex Tilius, a fifteenth-century manuscript now in Leyden—is preserved in late manuscripts. The other—known as the Vossian from the codex Vossianus of the ninth century—is preserved in much earlier manuscripts. It has been noticed that the first collection contains no poem that can be assigned to a year later than A.D. 383. It is exceedingly probable that Ausonius published this collection about that date. The second collection may have been published after his death by his son Hesperius. The text of Statius' *Thebais* seems to require a similar explanation of such discrepancies as *Th.* iv. 555:

insequitur geminusque bibit de uertice serpens (Cod. Puteaneus),
effluit amborum geminus de uertice serpens (Vulg.),

which cannot be due to any merely graphical corruption. Similar doublets are to be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, e.g. vi. 280, 281 are parallel to 282, 283, 284.

In Greek texts the best instance of such a double tradition is seen in the third Philippic of Demosthenes. This speech survives in two versions, the shorter represented mainly by Σ, the Paris manuscript, the longer by the Vulgate text. Some of the passages in the longer version are additions, others are alternatives. None bear the stamp of the interpolator, and the most convincing theory is that both versions are by Demosthenes, the shorter draft representing the speech as it was delivered, the longer the form in which it was prepared for publication. The attempt to explain certain anomalies in the text of Isocrates by assuming two editions has not found general acceptance (v. Drerup, *Isocrates*, vol. i, p. lxxxii).

The ancient critics recognized similar explanations of such repetitions. Cf. Galen, xvii. 1, p. 79 f K.: *ἐνίοτε γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς πράγματος διττῶς ἡμῶν γραψάντων, εἶτα τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας γραφῆς κατὰ τὸ ὕφος* (the text) *οὔσης, τῆς δ' ἑτέρας ἐπὶ θάτερα τῶν μετώπων* (the margin to right or left of the text), *ὅπως κρίνωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπὶ σχολῆς δοκιμάσαντες, ὁ πρῶτος μεταγράφων τὸ βιβλίον ἀμφότερα ἔγραψεν, εἶτα μὴ προσσχόντων ἡμῶν τῷ γεγονότι, μηδ' ἐπανορθωσαμένων τὸ σφάλμα, διαδοθὲν εἰς πολλοὺς τὸ βιβλίον ἀνεπανόρθωτον ἔμεινε.*[1]

(2) The divergence in the tradition may be due to recensions

[1] In modern literature such double versions are by no means uncommon. E.g. Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. 3. 295-300 = 308-15 (Camb. ed., p. 234 note). In Goethe's *Faust*, Part I, in the prison scene Scherer long ago raised objection to the passage:

> Wären wir nur den Berg vorbei!
> da sitzt meine Mutter auf einem Stein,
> Es fasst mich kalt bei'm Schopfe!
> da sitzt meine Mutter auf einem Stein!
> und wackelt mit dem Kopfe.

on the ground that it is in the style of a ballad and unsuited to a tragic situation. He has been corroborated by the discovery of Goethe's original version, which is in prose. 'Wären wir nur den Berg vorbey, da sizzt meine Mutter auf einem Stein und Wackelt mit dem Kopf!' (*G.'s Faust in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, E. Schmidt, Weimar, 1899.)

of the text at various periods after the author's death, or to selection from a body of variant readings.[1]

Such recensions, as has already been stated, vary in character from the elaborate scientific editions of Alexandrine scholars and their Roman followers, such as Probus, to the amateur efforts of a Mavortius or the the men whose names are mentioned in the subscription found after some of Isocrates' speeches in the Urbinas: Ἑλικώνιος ἅμα τοῖς ἑταίροις Θεοδώρῳ καὶ Εὐσταθίῳ. The Mavortian recension of Horace has left descendants, as also has the Calliopian recension of Terence. The text of Seneca's tragedies has been manipulated in a similar way, though the name of the editor is unknown. Here, if the Etruscus were not extant, we should be as far removed from the true text as we should be in Terence, if we had to rely only upon the Calliopian manuscripts without the aid of the Bembinus.

These older recensions cannot be wholly rejected, since it is often difficult to see the extent of the interpolations which they contain. The late Byzantine recensions can, however, be at once ruled out of court whenever there is earlier evidence for the text. E. g. the text of the astronomical poem known as the Σφαῖρα (attributed to Empedocles) must be founded on Parisinus 1310, fifteenth century, since this is the only manuscript which has not been affected by the Triclinian recension.

(3) Often the divergence in tradition does not spring from any intentional revision of the text, but represents a selection from a corpus of variants preserved in the archetype.

In most texts a choice has to be made between variants which may be at first sight equally probable. Here the same tests must be applied as we shall find later applied to emendation (see p. 151). These are (i) Intrinsic probability, and (ii) Graphical or Transcriptional probability. In other words we ask (i) What the author from all we know of him is likely to have written, and (ii) What corruptions the transcribers at

[1] It may also be due to the reckless treatment of the text by anthologists and other manipulators, e. g. Petronius 55, where the longer version is preserved in the Traguriensis alone.

various periods are likely to have substituted for the original text. This last question must be answered by the palaeographer. The first must be answered by the critic who has studied the author's work as a whole. An answer is rendered possible by the fact that every author has his own peculiarities of construction, vocabulary, or literary form, and in many cases some law of style or rhythm has been discovered which provides a very delicate test between two conflicting readings or for one resultant reading. In Livy xxxi. 44. 1 the archetype undoubtedly read 'Haec ea aestate ab Romanis Philippoque gesta *erant*'. But it is contrary to Livy's usage to sum up the events of a year with a verb in the pluperfect tense. This lends some probability to Madvig's conjecture 'gesta *terra*', especially as the passage contains a reference to operations by sea ('classis a Corcyra,' &c.). Ennius does not elide the *-ae* of the genitive. Hence in *Trag.* 207 Ribb. (quoted in *Ad Herennium*, ii. 22. 34 and elsewhere) the reading is almost certainly 'Neue inde nauis incohandi exordium | coepisset', and not 'incohand*ae*'. Ovid avoids the elision of a pyrrhic or dactyl ending in *a*, unless before a following *a* (L. Müller, *De Re Metr.* 291). Zielinski and others have proved by their researches into the rhythm at the end of clauses in Cicero that certain rhythms prevail over others. W. Meyer has noticed that in certain late Greek writers the last accented syllable in a clause is always preceded by two or more unaccented syllables. Nonnus does not use the proparoxytone at the end of a hexameter except in the first foot and except in the case of proper names.

But beside the internal or direct evidence there is generally a certain amount of evidence for the text of an ancient author which may be called external and indirect.

If every classical author stood alone, and if the only evidence for the text was the manuscripts in which his work survived, it would not be possible to penetrate far into the history of the text which lies behind the manuscripts. It might often be possible to say that a manuscript or group of manuscripts was copied

from an archetype of a certain period and of a certain hand-writing, but the point at which the inquiry would have to stop would still not be very far removed from the age to which the earliest manuscripts belonged. The critic would be in the position of a mining engineer who could only argue as to the course of a gold reef from the outcrop visible above the surface. And just as the engineer will get his evidence of the course of a reef by boring below the surface at various points, so too the textual critic can often find external or indirect evidence of the condition of a text in the ages before the existing manuscript tradition begins. None of the best authors ever stand alone, and beside the direct documentary evidence for their text, important evidence survives in quotations, commentaries, and translations. In the large critical editions such evidence is often given in a separate section and entitled 'Testimonia'.

(1) *Quotations, Imitations, &c.* The evidence derived from the quotations made from an ancient text by other authors or by grammarians and lexicographers is often exceedingly valuable, and a collection of such evidence now forms an indispensable part of a proper apparatus criticus. Students of the New Testament will remember the valuable inferences which can be drawn from the works of Origen as to the condition of the text of the various books during the third century and even earlier.

As an instance of the evidence given by quotations on the condition of a classical text we may take Pliny's use of Cato *de Agricultura*. Cato's work has survived in a very imperfect condition. It is full of accretions and repetitions. Among such are the two accounts of the 'Propagatio pomorum aliarum arborum' in ch. li. and ch. cxxxiii. In li. *pruna* are not mentioned; in cxxxiii. they occur in the list of trees. It is almost certain that Pliny had both passages before him and that he forgot or omitted to notice their similarity, since in *H. N.* xv. 44 he expresses his surprise that Cato has omitted *pruna* from his list; while in *H. N.* xvii. 96 he says, 'Cato propagari praeter uitem tradit ficum . . . pruna,' &c. It would seem therefore to be

a justifiable inference that the text of Cato exhibited these parallel accounts in Pliny's time.

So too the corruption in Sallust, *Hist.* i. 55 'post memoriam humani' (*om.* generis) was as old as the fourth century A. D. when Aurelius Victor copied the phrase slavishly in Caes. xxxix. 15. In Propertius i. 15. 29 'multa prius: uasto labentur' may be wrong, but the phrase finds a parallel in the *Dirae* 7 'multa prius fient'. It is even possible that the author of the *Dirae* may have derived the phrase from Propertius. In Terence *Phorm.* 243 editors are still undecided whether to accept the version of the line given by Cicero in *Tusc.* iii. 14. 30:

pericla damna peregre rediens semper secum cogitet,

or the version of the manuscript tradition,

pericla damna exilia peregre rediens semper cogitet.

A quotation such as the last must be carefully scrutinized before it is allowed to displace the manuscript reading. Ancient writers (especially Aristotle) are in the habit of quoting from memory; e. g. Aristotle, *Met.* 984 b 29 quotes Hesiod, *Theog.* 120 as

ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισι,

where the extant manuscripts give

ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

Here Aristotle has probably a confused remembrance of the Hymn to Apollo 327:

ὅς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέποι ἀθανάτοισι.

But when in Hes. Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμ. 288 the manuscripts all give ὀλίγη μὲν ὁδὸς μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει, while four ancient authors from Plato downwards quote the line as λείη μὲν ὁδός, we cannot doubt that we have in this the genuine text of Plato's time. A *chance* quotation therefore only affords probable evidence when it is corroborated by other evidence. (Cf. Butcher, Oxford *Demosthenes*, Praef. vol. i.) A quotation, however, *made deliberately* by a grammarian or lexicographer in order to illustrate a word or

phrase, carries great weight, e. g. Nonius's reading in Lucr. i. 66 of *tendere* for *tollere*. Varro in the *De Lingua Latina* quotes accurately from his originals, while in the *De Re Rustica* it is often obvious that he quotes from memory; e. g. in ii. 1. 20 he quotes Plaut. *Men.* 289 twice and each time gives a different and inaccurate version. The later grammarians often borrow quotations from their predecessors, and as they are known to forge quotations from lost writers the passages that they cite from extant writers require to be carefully scrutinized (e. g. such grammarians as Vergilius, and the scholiast to the *Ibis*).

As an instance of the evidence to be drawn from imitations Hes. Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμ. 588 may be taken. Here the manuscripts give

ἀλλὰ τότ' ἤδη
εἴη πετραίη τε σκιὴ καὶ Βίβλινος οἶνος.

Editors have attempted to alter the text in various ways (e. g. ἀλλά τοι ἠδὺ εἴη πετραίη συκέη, Nauck), but the more cautious have held their hand, owing to the imitation by Vergil in *G.* iii. 145 'ubi . . . saxea procubet umbra'. From Aesch. *Supp.* 800 κυσὶν δ' ἔπειθ' ἕλωρα κἀπιχωρίοις ὄρνισι δεῖπνον, it is fair to infer that in *Il.* i. 5 δαῖτα and not πᾶσι was read in the time of Aeschylus.

A text can often be corrected from the text of other authors who deal with the same or similar subjects; e. g. the reading given by some manuscripts in Hor. *Sat.* i. 4. 34 'dummodo risum Excutiat, sibi non, non cuiquam parcet amico', is now accepted on the strength of the passage in Ar. *Eth. Nic.* 1128 a 34 ὁ βωμολόχος . . . οὔτε ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενος εἰ γέλωτα ποιήσει. An interesting discussion of this problem will be found by Gercke in Ilberg and Ruhler's *Jahrb.* 1901, pp. 1, 81, 185, from which I have borrowed some illustrations. Diog. Laert. viii. 20 says of Pythagoras ὀργιζόμενός τε οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλαζεν οὔτε ἐλεύθερον οὐδένα. ἐκάλει δὲ τὸ νουθετεῖν πεδαρτᾶν. Iamblichus in his *Life of Pythagoras*, § 197, either quotes this passage or draws from a common source. His words, οὔτε οἰκέτην ἐκόλασεν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ὑπ' ὀργῆς οὔτε τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἐνουθέτησέ τινα, justify Cobet's emendation in Diogenes, οὔτε ἐλεύθερον [ἐνουθέτει], thus preserving the recognized distinction between κολάζειν, the proper treatment for slaves,

and *νουθετεῖν*, that for free men, which is found elsewhere in Greek, and giving a recognizable meaning to the clause which follows.

The biography of one author often influences biographies of authors of the same class, e. g. Suet. *Life of Horace* (Reifferscheid 44):

'Quintus Horatius Flaccus Venusinus, patre ut ipse tradit libertino et auctionum coactore, [ut uero creditum est salsamentario, cum illi quidam in altercatione exprobrasset: "Quotiens ego uidi patrem tuum brachio se emungentem]".'

This statement is in all probability not interpolated as editors have assumed, but was found by Suetonius in the original authorities whom he consulted. These authorities have assimilated Horace's life as far as possible to that of his model Bion of Borysthenes, of whom Diog. Laert. iv. 46 says *ἐμοὶ ὁ πατὴρ μὲν ἦν ἀπελεύθερος, τῷ ἀγκῶνι ἀπομυσσόμενος (διεδήλου δὲ τὸν ταριχέμπορον)*. Similarly in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* phrases are constantly borrowed from Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*.[1]

It is not often that the accuracy of a reading can be tested by reference to the original source from which the compiler has drawn; e. g. Apollonius, *Vita Aeschinis* 9 *ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ στρατευόμενος †καὶ εὐνοίας† καὶ ἀριστείων ἠξιώθη*, which is drawn from Aesch. *Fals. Leg.* 147 *συμβέβηκεν αὐτῷ ἐκπεσόντι ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα στρατεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀριστεύειν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις*. Hence *καὶ εὐνοίας* is a corruption for *ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*.

(2) *Scholia, Ancient Commentaries, Lexica.* The scholia (*σχόλιον*, a short discussion of a difficult passage) are commentaries which have grown up round the texts of the principal authors, especially poets. As has been explained above, they have been the means of preserving many of the texts which they accompany. Generally they combine the learning of all periods—Alexandrine, Byzantine, Carolingian, and Renaissance; e. g. the Venetian scholia on Aristoph. *Vesp.* 924 have *ἐν Σικελίᾳ ὢν τοὺς Σικελιώτας πάντας ἐπραίδευε*—a late Byzantine note; Juvenal i. 128 on 'sportula deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo' 'FORVM

[1] Cf. Ihm, *Suetonius*, I. p. viii, note 2: 'Einhardus etsi non multum confert ad crisin Suetoni, tamen neglegendus non est.'

uenalium rerum, APOLLO deinde ubi placitabant'—a Carolingian note, *placitare* being the regular Frankish term for holding a meeting. An instance of a Renaissance comment will be seen in Plaut. *Mostell.* 22: 'PERGRAECAMINI; sic hodie turchi faciunt in suis potationibus ut hodie dici posset perturchamini.' The scholia therefore need to be carefully examined before their evidence is invoked, since they consist of different strata of varying value.

They consist usually of a lemma (λῆμμα), i. e. the matter taken from the text, and of the comment upon it. The readings preserved in the lemmata are rarely worthy of much consideration. When the note is copied from one codex into another the reading in the lemma is generally adjusted to the reading in the text of the new codex, so that the only safe indication of the reading which the scholiast had before him is to be found in the substance of his note; e. g. in Hor. *Serm.* ii. 2. 116 EDULCE is prefixed in cod. ϕ to Porphyrion's note, though that is clearly a comment on the correct reading EDI LUCE. Thus, though the lemmata are untrustworthy, the evidence latent in the notes themselves is often most valuable[1]; e. g. Juv. viii. 148, where the manuscript reading was 'rotam astringit multo sufflamine consul', but the scholiast's note 'mulio est qui consul fertur' implies that he read 'sufflamine mulio consul'; Aesch. *Cho.* 262, where the reading δαναΐας μέγαν δόμον is seen to be δ' ἂν ἄρειας from the comment δύνασαι ἀνοικοδομῆσαι; ibid. 418 πάντες codd.: τί εἰπόντες schol. implying the reading φάντες: Hesiod, *Theog.* 91 ἐρχόμενον δ' ἀνὰ ἄστυ θεὸν ὡς ἱλάσκονται, where the scholiast has ἀν' ἀγῶνα (for ἀνὰ ἄστυ) a reading confirmed by the Achmîm papyrus.

The lemmata not infrequently introduce fresh corruptions. In Latin poetry they often consist of the beginning or end of the line in which the word explained occurs. This has its origin in the custom of writing the note in the right or left hand margin against the line to which it refers. If these margins became inconveniently full and the note in a subsequent copy had to be

[1] Cf. Bywater, *Contrib. to Textual Criticism of the Ethics*, p. 2; and Housman, *Lucan*[3], p. xlii.

transferred to the upper or lower margin the scribe often prefaced it with the beginning or end of the line in order to facilitate reference. This explains why ignorant copyists often prefix a lemma from the line preceding or following that to which the note applies. If such a lemma is of any considerable length, some of the words are only roughly indicated ; e. g. on Juv. x. 315 the lemma PLVS QVAM LEX VL. D. RI represents 'plus quam lex ulla dolori'. It is not improbable that some of the variants in Latin scholia have been produced through misunderstanding caused by such contractions ; e. g. Juv. vii. 58 the lemma runs, INPATIENS CVPIDVS SILVARVM AVIDVS, whence Jahn has introduced *auidus* into the text in place of *aptus*. Vahlen (*Opuscula*, i. 249) ingeniously suggests that AVIDVS only represents A. VI. DIS, i. e. 'aptusque uiuendis', the concluding words of the line, with the common misspelling of *uiuendis* for *bibendis*.

Such scholia must be kept distinct from the ordered commentaries, treatises, and paraphrases which were the work of a single scholar, e.g. Servius on Vergil, Asconius on Cicero, and the various commentaries on Aristotle, such as those of Simplicius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis. These treatises are not parasites surrounding a text, but existed as separate works and are often of the very highest value. The use to which such commentaries can be put in estimating the age of an archetype is well illustrated by Diels in his history of the text of Aristotle's *Physics* (*Abhandl. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1882). He shows that there are many lacunae in the manuscripts in passages which were intact in the texts of the commentators of the 2nd—6th centuries A.D. Hence all our manuscripts must be derived from a faulty archetype. The date of this archetype can be roughly calculated since the corrupt passage in 216 ^{b} 17 appears in the commentary of Averroes who uses Arabic versions of the ninth century. The present tradition must therefore have developed between 600 and 800 A. D.

(3) *Translations.* Few translations from Latin into Greek have survived. The best known is the version of parts of Ovid made by the Byzantine Planudes. Seneca *N. Q.* iv. a is found

in a shortened version made in Greek by Iohannes Lydus (sixth century), and the pseudo-Aristotelian *περὶ κόσμου* is translated in Apuleius *de Mundo*.

Early translations from Greek into Latin, such as those of Aratus by Cicero, Germanicus, or Avienus, are not common and are too free to be of much assistance as authorities for the original text. Passages of Greek authors are often paraphrased by Cicero in his philosophical works; e. g. Cic. *de Rep.* i. 66 = Plato *de Rep.* 562 C–D; Cic. *Orator* 41 = Plato *Phaedr.* 279 A, where the text of Cicero supports the reading *εἴτε* of the Clarkianus against the ordinary *ἔτι τε*. A better instance of what is to be gained from an early translation is seen in Tertullian *de Anima* 18, where a translation is given of Plato *Phaedo* 65 A:

τί δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως κτῆσιν; πότερον ἐμπόδιον
quid tum erga ipsam prudentiae possessionem? utrumne impedimentum
τὸ σῶμα ἢ οὔ, ἐάν τις αὐτὸ κοινωνὸν συμπαραλαμβάνῃ ἐν τῇ ζητήσει;
erit corpus, an non, si quis illud socium assumpserit in quaestionem?
οἷον τὸ τοιόνδε λέγω· ἆρα ἔχει ἀλήθειάν τινα ὄψις τε καὶ ἀκοὴ
Tale quid dico, habetne ueritatem aliquam uisio et auditio
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ... καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῖν ἀεὶ θρυλοῦσιν
hominibus, ⟨an non? Annon⟩ etiam poetae ⟨haec⟩ nobis semper obmussant,
ὅτι οὔτ' ἀκούομεν ἀκριβὲς οὐδὲν οὔτε ὁρῶμεν;
quod neque audiamus certum neque uideamus?

Here Tertullian's order differs once from the manuscripts (which give *ἐν τῇ ζητήσει κοινωνὸν συμπ.*). Also he adds *ἢ οὔ* after *ἀνθρώποις*, and evidently read *Ἆρ' οὐ* in the next sentence where the manuscripts have *ἢ τά γε τοιαῦτα*.

The mediaeval translations of Aristotle, of which the best known are the Latin translations by a Dominican monk, William of Moerbecke (a town on the borders of Flanders and Brabant) *c.* 1260, are often useful from the slavish accuracy with which they follow the original text word for word. If the version follows a good manuscript its very defects are merits for the purposes of criticizing the original text.

The Vetusta Translatio of the *Rhetoric* belongs to the same class. It is full of ludicrous mistakes; e. g. in 1405 b 20 *ῥοδοδά-*

κτυλος ἠώς is translated 'rhododactylus quam ut' (i.e. ἢ ὡς). But in spite of this it is clear that it has been made from a good manuscript whose readings it faithfully reproduces; e.g. 1398 b 32 it has for καὶ Ἡγήσιππος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηρώτα, 'Hegesippus polis vel in Delphis interrogabat': clearly reproducing a variant πολις
Ἡγησιππος, which must have been added by some scholar who knew that the Hegesippus here mentioned is called Hegesipolis by Xenophon. In 1374 a 16 it alone preserves the right reading ἔλαβε for ἔκλεψε.

The translations made by the humanists of the fifteenth century rarely offer much evidence for the settlement of a text. Where a good reading is suggested—as by Lorenzo Valla, the translator of Thucydides and by Ficinus in Plato—it may often be due to the acumen of the translator.

The evidence from translations rarely effects such a revolution in the recension of a text as has recently been found necessary in the *De Viris Illustribus* of St. Jerome. The interpretation of the evidence of the numerous manuscripts (there are about 120) has had to be altered entirely since the publication of von Gebhart's critical edition of the Greek translation by Sophronios. This translation shows that Jerome really issued two editions.

The change which a careful recension has effected in classical texts is undeniable. The result is more striking in Latin than in Greek for reasons which have already been considered, (p. 24). Any one who reads such authors as Plautus, Caesar, or Juvenal in a sixteenth-century edition and then passes to a modern critical edition cannot help seeing that in numberless passages a veil has been lifted from the text and that the reader is perceptibly nearer to the author's own words. As we have seen, this has been accomplished by the discovery of older manuscripts which present a sincerer text, i.e. a text not necessarily uniform or free from corruption, but at any rate free from the interpolations of the scholars of the Byzantine and Italian revivals. But the Greek papyri (and there is no reason to believe that Latin papyri would tell a different tale) now show

us that the genealogical method has its limitations. The groups of extant manuscripts in which a text is preserved do not descend in a direct line from the author's original text. They lead us back to a text which, even in ancient times, was sown with variant readings. As long as there was a flourishing book trade in Greece and Rome this mass of variants infected the texts that were most in demand. Texts were in a state of constant oscillation and inclined towards the good or bad variants according as they were protected or neglected by ancient scholars. When the victory of Christianity destroyed the ancient book trade, the codices of a work which survived to be copied in monasteries became the parents of the different groups which are still preserved. The genealogical method therefore by which these groups have been recognized and their value assessed can rarely do more than clear the ground. Where successful it provides a tentative text containing variant readings that were current at a very early period. But in constructing a text no group can be discarded till it has been scrupulously examined, since the papyri show that inferior manuscripts can inherit good readings. In deciding between the variants which are left after this preliminary survey we have to rely on Interpretation, i.e. our knowledge of the author, of his style and technique, of the sources and conditions of his work, and, so far as we can recover it, of the subsequent history of his text.

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CHAPTER VII

EMENDATION

Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μεταγράφειν τὰς παλαιὰς ῥήσεις προπετές, οὕτω καὶ φυλάττοντας ὡς γέγραπται βραχείαις τέ τισιν ἢ προσθέσεσιν ἢ ὑπαλλάξεσι διαλύεσθαι τὰς ἀπορίας ἀγαθῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἐστιν ἔργον.—GALEN, vii. 894 (Kühn).

Boni critici est tacere potius quam nihil dicere neque *κακοῖσιν ἰᾶσθαι κακά.*—COBET, *Nov. Lect.* viii.

Im Allgemeinen kann man behaupten, dass von 100 Conjecturen, welche die Kritiken machen, nicht 5 wahr sind. *Ἄριστος κριτὴς ὁ ταχέως μὲν συνιείς, βραδέως δὲ κρίνων.*—BOECKH, *Encyclopädie*, p. 175.

Rationem captiuam sub iugum codicum mittunt.—MADVIG, *Adv.* i. 59.

Nam interdum etiam homines alioquin prudentes sic se molestis uerbis liberare student, ut obliuisci uideantur scribas simplices quidem illos homines fuisse, sed tamen sanae mentis.—Ib. p. 64.

Cauendum est ne rimandis litterarum apicibus errorumque uiis indagandis occupati sensum sermonis ueteris hebescere patiamur librariorumque dum causam agimus ingenio scriptorum iniuriam faciamus.—VAHLEN, *Opusc.* i. 23.

Gens illa medicorum qui in locis sanis sanandis operam perdunt.—O. CRUSIUS.

ALL that a proper recension of a text can effect is to report the evidence of the documents in which the text has been preserved, and to decide which documents owing to their age or character are the most trustworthy. But though in most cases this process brings us appreciably nearer to the autograph, i. e. the text as it was originally written by the author, yet it always leaves a residuum of passages, greater in number or less according to the character and history of the text in question, which no longer present the words which the author originally wrote. These are the passages usually described as 'corrupt', and before we acquiesce in such corruptions we must consider whether they can be removed or emended. If there is reason to suppose that some portion of the text has disappeared without leaving any trace behind, the injury is irreparable and a careful editor will mark a lacuna in the text until fresh documentary evidence is available. Sometimes, in order to show the reader concisely how he thinks the passage should be interpreted, he

may supply the missing words from hints that are given by the context or by kindred writings, &c., but if he does not wish to prejudice the reader unduly he will print such suggestions in the margin, since they are only attempts to replace the text and cannot be held to restore it. In by far the largest number of corrupt passages, however, the text has been defaced but not entirely destroyed, and can be restored with more or less probability by emendation. How are we to estimate the degree of probability that an emendation possesses, and how are we to decide between rival suggestions? By invoking the same two tests which we have already applied in recension where it has been found necessary to decide between variant readings of apparently equal authority, i. e. (1) Transcriptional Probability and (2) Intrinsic Probability.

The emendation must possess Transcriptional Probability, i. e. it must explain how the copyist came to err, and in order to do this it must be palaeographically probable. Otherwise it will be little more than a fortunate guess. 'Divination' of this kind, upon which the older critics prided themselves, may occasionally be proved to be right through the discovery of fresh evidence, such as early papyri, but it proceeds from no method and conveys no certainty. Hence in cases where the corruption has passed beyond the possibility of explanation by palaeography, emendation becomes little more than guesswork. Thus, to take an instance, in the poem of Solon preserved by Aristides ii. 536 the phrase *τοὺς δ' ἀναγκαίης ὕπο | χρησμὸν λέγοντας* is unintelligible, and the correct reading *ἀναγκαίης ὕπο χρειοῦς φυγόντας*, which is now known from the British Museum papyrus of Aristotle *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* xii. 7, could never have been justified by palaeography if it had been suggested as an emendation by any modern scholar.

The emendation must be intrinsically probable, i. e. it must be something that the author is likely to have written. It must suit the context, the author's style and vocabulary, and any general laws which have been proved to apply to his works. This is what Galen has in mind when he insists that we should take

into account not merely the λέξις of Hippocrates, but also the ἑρμηνεία and γνώμη, in deciding between rival readings and conjectures.[1] Nowhere is this more necessary than in dealing with the text of Galen's own works: e. g. in his use of the reflexive pronoun of the third person for the first and second; in his use of ἄν with the future indicative; and in his Isocratean avoidance of hiatus. An instance of an emendation which is palaeographically probable can be seen in Cobet's alteration of Suidas' τῶν ἁγίων ἀναργύρων into τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων: but this is found to be intrinsically improbable when it is discovered that the ἀνάργυροι were the two physician saints, Cosmas and Damian, who practised without fee. On the other hand emendation of the meaningless *existimatio uestra tenebrae* in Cic. *pro Flacco* § 12 by the conjecture *existimatio uerba et ineptiae* attains a high degree of probability on the strength of the parallel passage in *In Pisonem* § 65.

Every sound generalization with regard to language and style proves fatal to a number of hasty emendations. Thus the examination of Attic usage puts out of court Naber's conjecture of ἐνερτέρων for νεωτέρων in Aristophon Frag. 13, Dindorf's παύσει' ἄν in Ar. *Plut.* 136 and ἐπικράναι in Aesch. *Suppl.* 624. The examination of the laws of metrical prose destroys as many emendations as it suggests, e. g. in the preface to Avianus, 'quis tecum de poémate loquerétur,' the emendations *contendet* and *loquetur* disturb the *cursus uelox* ⏑⏑–, ⏑⏑–⏑ which Avianus almost certainly intended to use.

But unsound generalizations have in their turn produced a crop of unnecessary emendations. These are seen in the attempts made to normalize the text of an author by smoothing down roughnesses and imposing an unnatural standard of syntax and vocabulary, e. g. Dawes' Canon forbidding the use of the first aorist subjunctive active or middle after ὅπως μή and οὐ μή,—a rule which rests upon an incomplete induction; or Cobet's attempts to force the text of Xenophon to conform to the usage

[1] Bröcker, *Die Methoden Galens in der literarischen Kritik*, Rh. Mus. 1885, p. 433.

of the stricter Attic writers. The earlier scholars frequently erred through not making sufficient allowance for the individuality of an author. They made the style of a few supreme writers into a law for all writers of the same class. Thus the Italians of the sixteenth century see all Latin prose writing through the style of Cicero; and the earlier Dutch scholars (e. g. N. Heinsius) vitiated their criticism of Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius by judging them according to the standard of Ovid and by endeavouring to foist Ovidian elegances upon them.

Hence if emendation is to attain any degree of probability it must satisfy not one but both of these tests. Yet if both cannot be satisfied there is this difference in value between them. An emendation that violates Transcriptional Probability while it satisfies Intrinsic Probability may possibly be true, though we have no right to presume its truth; an emendation, however, which satisfies Transcriptional Probability yet violates Intrinsic Probability is wholly valueless. This only means that the good critic must be something more than a mere palaeographer.

We may assume then that the textual critic has considered the Intrinsic Probability of his emendation,—has properly 'interpreted' his text as Lachmann would say (v. p. 125), and is now proceeding to test his suggestion by what palaeography can tell him of the various errors to which copyists are prone. These errors may for convenience be classified as follows:

Errors arising from:

I. Confusions and attempts made to remedy them.

(1) Confusion of similar letters and syllables.
(2) Misinterpretation of Contractions.
(3) Mistranscription of words through general resemblance.
(4) Wrong combination or separation; wrong punctuation.
(5) Assimilation of Terminations and accommodation to neighbouring construction.
(6) Transposition of letters (anagrammatism) and of words and sentences; dislocation of sentences, sections, and pages.
(7) Mistranscription of Greek into Latin and vice versa.

(8) Confusion of Numerals.
(9) Confusion in Proper Names.
(10) Mistakes due to change in pronunciation. Itacism, &c.
(11) Substitution of synonyms or of familiar words for unfamiliar.
(12) New spellings substituted for old.
(13) Interpolation or the attempt to repair the results of unconscious errors.

II. Omissions.
(14) Haplography, or the omission of words or syllables with the same beginning or ending (homoeoarcta and homoeoteleuta).
(15) Lipography (parablepsia), or simple omission of any kind.

III. Additions.
(16) Repetition from the immediate (Dittography) or neighbouring context.
(17) Insertion of interlinear or marginal glosses or notes (Adscripts).
(18) Conflated readings.
(19) Additions due to the influence of kindred writings.

Such a classification takes as its basis of division the pathology of the written text. It would be equally possible to frame a different classification by taking as the basis of division the source of all such defects, i. e. the scribe or scribes who have written the text. Looked at from this point of view the common errors are sometimes held to fall into two classes: (1) *Visual Errors*, i. e. substitutions, omissions, or additions which the eye of the scribe makes through weakness or inattention, (2) *Psychological Errors*, which arise from the tendency of the mind—a tendency often amounting to little more than an unintelligent instinct—to read some meaning into its own mistakes or the mistakes in the exemplar from which the copy is made. The main corruptions in classical texts are due to errors of this class, and textual emendation may become the mere plaything of palaeography if this truth is forgotten. The worst scribe

cannot copy mechanically for long without allowing some play to his intelligence. As Jerome says in *Epp.* 71. 5 'scribunt non quod inueniunt sed quod intellegunt'. Even at the worst he hardly ever copies letter for letter any writing that he understands. When visual errors happen, as happen they must from time to time, the harm inflicted on a text which is preserved in more than one manuscript is often wholly transitory. A meaningless word like TETERA for CETERA (owing to the similarity of C and T in rustic capitals) is bound to arrest the attention of the reader, however careless he be, and is soon corrected by conjecture or by comparison with other copies. But an error like CONTENTVS for CONCENTVS may invade a number of copies. The word has a meaning, and may even have a meaning in the passage where it is substituted if the reader is careless and stupid, and does not take the trouble to interpret the context. The instances where the change of a letter will bring sense to a *vox nihili* in a well-attested text are exceedingly rare, and we might well be spared a great deal of the 'paläographische Taschenspielerei' against which Schubart protested more than fifty years ago.[1] The case is different where the text depends upon a single manuscript, or upon a few inferior manuscripts descended perhaps from a transcript made by a late scribe who was almost ignorant of the language which he was copying. Proper names offer the one exception to this rule. They are often unfamiliar to the best scribes, and purely visual errors are often found in them since the scribe has to copy letter for letter.

In most instances, therefore, it will be found that the scribes copy words and not letters, and the true source of their errors is psychological as well as visual. Their attention is not focused on the similarity of letters, though it is often this similarity that suggests the confusion between words. Often, however, it is the *general* similarity between two words rather than the similarity between the one or two letters in which they differ that has

[1] J. H. C. Schubart, *Bruchstücke zu einer Methodologie der diplomatischen Kritik*, 1855.

brought about the confusion between them: e. g. κενός : ξένος, ὑπογραφέως : ὑπὸ γναφέως (Stob. *Append. Flor.*, p. 36, Gaisf.), *canimus* : *canibus* (Verg. *Ecl.* iv. 3), *rursus* : *cursus* (ib. viii. 4), *uoluptas* : *uoluntas* (Liv. xxi. 4. 6, Plin. *Epp.* ii. 17. 24) are interchanged from their general similarity and not because κ and ξ, ρ and ν, *m* and *b*, *c* and *r*, *p* and *n* are easily interchangeable. Or again the scribe's eye wanders in the immediate environment of the words which his pen is writing, and is influenced by some letter or letters which precede or follow, e. g. in Suet. *Diu. Aug.* 32. 3 *addidit* (Stephanus) is the generally accepted emendation of *addixit* which is found in all the manuscripts. If the sentence be looked at as a whole—'Quartam (decuriam) addidit ex inferiore censu'—it will be seen that the mistake has not arisen from the similarity of the letters *d* and *x*, but has been imported from the word *ex* which immediately follows. Liv. xlii. 67. 2 gives *et propinquo* for *ex propinquo*. Here the scribe's eye has travelled backwards to the *et* which he has written in the preceding word *Magetas*. Many of the instances of the interchange of letters in the capital script given by Ribbeck in his *Vergil*, vol. i, pp. 235 sqq., seem to be due to the environment of the word rather than to the causes which he alleges, viz.: (1) the pronunciation of vulgar Latin; (2) the influence of the old Roman cursive script of the type found in the Pompeian *graffiti*. It is difficult to believe that the rough cursive hands have played such a part in the transmission of so important an author as Vergil when it is clear from the *Carmen Actiacum* that the capital script was in common use in A. D. 79.[1]

[1] I print a few of Ribbeck's instances, adding in each case the neighbouring words. In the following the scribe's eye has travelled forward. B = M (according to Ribbeck) *G.* i. 319 RADIC*IM*VS*IM*IS for *radicibus imis*. *G.* ii. 488 CONVALL*IM*VSHAE*MI* for *conuallibus Haemi*. L = P *G.* ii. 394 CARMINIBVS*LA*TRIS*LA*NCESETLIBA for *carminibus patriis lances et liba*. L = R *Aen.* i. 103 *VER*VMAD*VER*SA for *uelum aduersa*. N = R *G.* iv. 145 *PIN*VMETS*PIN*OS for *pirum et spinos*. In the following instances it has travelled backwards: B = L *Aen.* xi. 849 MONTESV*BA*BTO for *monte sub alto*. D = G *Aen.* xi. 720 CON*GRE*GITVR for *congreditur*. L = R *Aen.* i. 414 *MOL*IRIVE*MOL*AM for *moliriue moram*. *G.* iv. 45 *RIMO*SACVBILIA*RIMO* for *rimosa cubilia limo*. *Aen.* vii. 624 P*ARS*ARDVVS*AR*IS for *pars arduus*

Many of the early treatises such as Canter's *Syntagma* (1566) suffer from this tendency to isolate a given letter from the surroundings in which it is written; and many of the more recent treatises such as Bast's *Commentatio Palaeographica*, Hagen's *Gradus ad Criticen*, or Wessely's Introduction to the facsimile of the Vienna Livy, may lead a student to the despairing conviction that any letter in ancient handwriting can be interchanged with any other if he does not bear in mind the word in which the interchange occurs and the character of the neighbouring letters.

So too in dealing with the remaining forms of corruption which are discussed below discrimination must be used before they are assumed and emended. The medicine is worse than useless without a good diagnosis. This diagnosis will have been provided by the inquiries into the history of the text which form part of any accurate recension. Not every kind of corruption is found in every writer or at every period. A grammatical or lexicographical work will contain abbreviations that must not be assumed in the works of a poet or a historian. Owing to the confined space in which they are written scholia and similar marginalia require special abbreviations which are hardly ever used in the body of the text. It would be absurd, therefore, to base an emendation on the mistaken use of an abbreviation which the scribe would never have used; e. g. $\bar{\pi}$ would be a fitting sign for *παροιμία* in a paroemiographer or lexicographer, but not in an ordinary text; $\bar{1}$ = *uel* to introduce a variant reading is not to be assumed in early manuscripts though it is common later.

altis. L = V *G*. iv. 467 F*AV*CES*AV*TAOSTIA for *fauces alta ostia*. It is difficult also to believe with Chatelain (Preface to Sijthoff's facsimile of the *Oblongus* of Lucretius) that the confusion between B and D has been inherited from such hands as the early papyri and the Dacian tablets exhibit: e. g. *arbor* for *ardor* (i. 668) seems a case of general resemblance, *dibenti* for *bidenti* (v. 208) to be due to anagrammatism. Often where letters are really similar the confusion is due to some neighbouring word; e. g. Eur. *Phoen.* 184 *μεγαλαγορίαν* has been corrupted into *μεγαλανορίαν* owing to the following word *ὑπεράνορα*. Cf. Heraeus, *Quaestiones criticae*, 1885, p. 92 sq.

I. Confusions and attempts made to remedy them.

(1) Confusion of similar letters.

(*a*) *In Greek.*[1]

Α, Δ, Λ. Aesch. *Suppl.* 254 αἴδνης δίαλγος (αἶαν ἧς δι' ἀγνός). Eur. *Hel.* 1584 δαίμον' (λαιμόν'). Apoll. Rhod. 2. 1260 ἀλημοσύνῃσιν (δαημοσύνῃσιν). Aesch. *Suppl.* 96 δὲ ἀπϊδὼν (δ' ἐλπίδων). *Anth. Pal.* vi. 190 αἶψα (λιτά).

β, κ. Aesch. *Cho.* 936 καρύδικος (βαρύδικος). id. *Eum.* 246 νεκρόν (νεβρόν). Eur. *Cycl.* 346 κῶμον (βωμόν).

β, μ. Soph. *O. C.* 217 μένεις (βαίνεις). Diog. Laert. x. 140 (συμβαίνει (συμμένει, Bywater). Aesch. *Cho.* 1068 παιδόμοροι (παιδοβόροι).

β, υ. This confusion is nearly always due to similarity of pronunciation. Occasionally it arises from similarity of form; v. Cobet, *Variae Lectiones*, p. 219.

ΓΙ, ΓΤ, ΓΠ. Cf. Galen, K. xiv. p. 31, where the question is the confusion of letters representing numbers. τὰ δὲ δὴ βιβλία τὰ κατὰ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἀποκείμενα, τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔχοντα σημεῖα, ῥᾳδίως διαστρέφεται, τὸ μὲν Ε ποιούντων Θ (καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Ο) τὸ δὲ Ι Γ, προσθέσει μιᾶς γραμμῆς, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἀφαιρέσει μιᾶς ἑτέρας. Eur. *Ion* 15 οἶκον (ὄγκον). Aesch. *Ag.* 512 καὶ παγώνιος (καὶ παιώνιος). id. *Pers.* 926 γὰρ φύστις (ταρφύς τις). Eur. *Androm.* 814 μέγ' ἀλγεῖ (μεταλγεῖ). Soph. *Ant.* 368 παρείρων (γεραίρων).

Ε, Θ, Ο, C. Plutarch, *Moralia* 696 F ἔργον (θρῖον). Plato, *Politicus* 284 A διελοῦμεν (διολοῦμεν). Lysias viii. 11 ἐφ' ὧν (σφῶν). Plutarch, *Moralia* 20 D οὖσιν (θύειν). ib. 1099 C θυσίας (οὐσίας).

Ζ, Ξ, ζ, ξ. Eur. *Heraclid.* 493 σφάζειν (σφάξειν). id. *Heracles* 248 στενάζετε (στενάξετε).

Ζ, Τ. Eur. *Antiope fr.* 209 σοι τήνδ' ἐς εὐνήν (σοι Ζῆν' ἐς). Hesychius, *s. v.* ταμίαν (ζαμίαν).

Η, ΤΙ, η, τι. Isaeus ii. 25 ἤδη ποτ' (τί δή ποτ'). ib. xi. 19 τί ἔτι δεῖ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς ἢ ⟨τί⟩ ποθεῖτε ἀκοῦσαι (a haplography through confusion with H or Π).

[1] In this section and in the following section only a few of the commoner interchanges are given.

Η, ΙC. *Hymn to Demeter* 51 φαινόλη (φαινολίς).

Η, Κ, η, κ. Eur. *Bacch.* 1048 πικρόν (ποιηρόν). Lysias xii. 86 ἢ ἀγαθοί (κἀγαθοί). Galen K. xix, p. 9 εἴρητο (ἤρκτο).

Η, Π. Lysias xxx. 17 εὔπλων (στηλῶν). Arist. *Rhet.* 1400^{b} 19 Ἡρόδικος (Πρόδικος). Max. Tyr. p. 450. 15 (Hobein) Πρόδοτον (Ἡρόδοτον).

Κ, ΙC. Aesch. *Cho.* 897 μαστὸν πρὸς ὠκύ (πρὸς ᾧ σύ).

Athen. p. 500 c ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ Δερκυλλίδας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος σκύφος (Σίσυφος, cf. Xen. *Hell.* iii. 1. 8).

This corruption leads to many interchanges, e. g. κτᾶσθαι, ἵστασθαι: πλεκτός, πλεῖστος: ἄριστος, ἄρκτος: ἐκ, εἰς: εἷς ὤν, ἐκών (Lucian lxx. 25).

ΛΛ, Μ. Plat. *Gorg.* 492 D ἄλλοθεν BTP (ἀμόθεν). Soph. *O. C.* 1266 τἄλλα (τἀμά).

λ, χ. Lysias xxi. 10 εἶλον (εἶχον). Eur. *El.* 1065 ἀπώλετο (ἀπῴχετο). id. *Alc.* 905 ᾤχετ' (ὤλετ').

Μ, Ν, μ, ν. Lysias xix. 61 ὃ νῦν εἰς (ὃν ὑμεῖς).

Eur. *Heraclid.* 21 προτιμῶν (προτείνων).

Ν, Η. Vide Porson on *Hecuba* 2.

Ν, Λ. Aesch. Eum. 789 γένωμαι (γελῶμαι). Eur. *Ion* 162 κύκλος (κύκνος).

ν, υ. *Hymn to Hermes* 55 ἦντε (ἠΰτε). Eur. *Bacch.* 129 ἐν ἄσμασι (εὐάσμασι).

ξ, τι. Cf. Dawes, *Miscellanea Critica*, p. 472: Cobet, *V. L.* p. 120. Aristoph. *Ach.* 1062 ἀξία (αἰτία). Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 1. 21 οὐκ ἐξημπέδου (οὐκέτι ἡμπέδου).

Π, Γ. Aesch. *Cho.* 835 λυπρᾶς (λυγρᾶς).

Π, ΙΓ. Eur. *Cycl.* 571 σιγῶντα (σπῶντα).

Π, Τ. Eur. *Phoen.* 1262 καὶ τᾶθλα (κἄπαθλα). Aesch. *Ag.* 468 ὑπερκότως (ὑπερκόπως).

Π, ΤΙ. Plat. *Rep.* 581 D ποιώμεθα (τί οἰώμεθα).

ΤΤ, ΠΤ. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* iii. 6. 3 ψήχουσι μὲν τὸν χρῶτα, ὀρύττουσι δὲ τὴν σάρκα φαρμάκοις (θρύπτουσι).

Τ, Υ. Hesychius, *s.v.* ὑρεῖ, φοβεῖται (τρεῖ).

Τ, Ψ (+). Alexis (Kock 351) τὸν ὀψοποιὸν σκευάσαι χρηστῶς μόνον

δεῖ τοῦτον (τοὔψον). Menander (Kock 618) τί σαυτὸν ἀδικῶν τὴν ψυχὴν (τύχην) καταιτιᾷ; This form of ψ justifies the emendation ὄψις for ὄησ A^{c} in Aristot. *Poet.* 1456^{a} 2 (+I=H). Cf. Porson on *Medea* 553.

ω, o. Due to pronunciation, e.g. Eur. *Hel.* 1487 ὁπόταν αἱ (ὦ πταναί). id. *Bacchae* 802 ὅταν (ὦ τᾶν). Aristoph. *Lys.* 281 ὅμως (ὠμῶς).

(*b*) *In Latin.*

For interchanges found in Inscrr. v. E. Schneider, *Dialectae Latinae priscae et Faliscae exempla selecta*, 1886. For the capital script v. W. Studemund's Index to his transcription of the Ambrosianus of Plautus (1889). A useful list illustrating minuscule changes will be found in M. Ihm, *Suetonius*, i, p. xxxix sq.

A, X. ara (arx) Ov. *Fast.* i. 245. lana (lanx) Liv. xl. 59. 8. ea parte (ex parte) ib. x. 42. 3. silua (si lux) una retro phylaceida rettulit umbram Stat. *Silu.* v. 3. 273.

a, co. uelleꝯ tot OG, i.e. uelleꝯ cot, a corruption of *uelle queat* Catull. 75. 3.

a, ec. senectum (senatum) Suet. *D. Aug.* 94. 3.

B, R. reliquorum V: belli quorum D, Cic. *Phil.* xiii. 2. In *Pro Font.* 36, Clark emends to ⟨*belli*⟩ *reliquias.*

B, S. inanibus (i.e. INANIB.) sententiis Suet. *D. Aug.* 86. 3 (*inanis* Gronovius). The SCT. *de Bacch.* has the mistake SACANAL.

B, V. laui hodie et ambulaui paulum, *ciui* paulo plus sumpsi (cibi) Fronto, v. 15 (due to pronunciation).

C, G. Germanorum (Cenomanorum) Liv. v. 35. 1. qui coissent ope (qui eguissent) ib. xxi. 52. 8. uincitur (cingitur) Plin. *Epp.* ii. 17. 15. longo (loco) Suet. *D. Aug.* 45. 3.

c, e. et gemitum formaque ac uoce meretur (aeuoque) Stat. *Silu.* ii. 1. 178. deuersorio loco . . . cesserit (deuersoriolo eo) Suet. *D. Iul.* 72. 1.

c, t. curuatur (turbatur) Plin. *Epp.* ix. 26. 4. arces (artes) Liv. xlii. 47. 4. omnes isti qui recto uiuunt (retro) Sen. *Epp.* 122. 18. This is an uncial as well as a later confusion.

E, F. cum ea tu (fatu) Plaut. *Amph.* 906. pulueris ericei (i. e. aericei=Africei) Catull. 61. 206. flatus (elatus) Suet. *Nero* 37. 3, helped by the following word *inflatusque.*

E, T. iusto die se non dicturum (ius eo die) Liv. iii. 46. 3.

F, T, P. efflueris (et fueris) Lucr. vi. 800. sed expertae *potius* spectataeque Romanorum fidei credere (toties) Liv. xxxv. 49. 12. epulis in multa pericula discoctis (fericula) Sen. *Epp.* 122. 3. The confusion of F and P is common in manuscripts copied from the insular script, e. g. Vitruv. ix. 8. 3 where the Harl. reads *confressione* for *compressione*. In uncials, cf. Lucan ix. 1048 qui tibi plenidus (qui tibi flendus).

f, s. femina (semina) Lucr. ii. 497. sucus (fucus) ib. ii. 683; cf. Suet. *Domit.* 8. 1 semper fusoriis ΠQ : semper suasoriis Π^1 : se persuasoriis ST (se perfusoriis).

G, O H, K H, N are all common in capital script.

I, P i, p especially when preceded by *u* or *m*; e. g. corruitum (corruptum) Plaut. *Trin.* 116.

I, T i, t. corpora strata tacebant (iacebant) Lucr. vi. 1265. potentiae, quae honoris causa ad eum deferretur, non *ut* ab eo occuparetur (ui). Vell. Pat. ii. 29. 3.

I, L i, l. cum omnium *maiorum* suorum insigniis se in forum proiecit (malorum) Liv. ii. 23. 3; cf. Munro, cr. n. on Lucr. i. 349. Especially common in manuscripts copied from Visigothic and Beneventan originals, where a long *i* is used initially to represent the vowel *i* and medially (e. g. eIus) to represent semivocalic *i*; vide E. A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica*, Munich, 1910, pp. 13 sqq.

L, T l, t. pars *melior* senatus ad meliora responsum trahere (mitior) Liv. viii. 21. 6 *facile* argenti pondus (facti) Q. Curt. iii. 13. 16.

M, N, IN m, n, ia, ui. tela in domum Maelii conferri eumque *contiones* domi habere (coitiones) Liv. iv. 13. 9. nobiliorem (mobiliorem) ib. x. 25. 10. accipiet Capitolium non *inimicos* currus nec falsae simulacra uictoriae (mimicos) Plin. *Pan.* 16. intro euntes (nitro euntes) Sen. *N. Q.* iii. 24. 4.

n, u. leuiter (leniter) Liv. iii. 50. 12. non solitudinem illi *nouiter* insederant (non iter) Plin. *Pan.* 34.

n, r uncommon; v. Ihm, *Suet.* i, p. xlvii. gerantur (genantur) Lucr. iv. 143. uini (uiri) ib. vi. 805.

O, Q. IQVE for IOVE Verg. *G.* iii. 35, QVIS for OVIS Plaut. *Pers.* 173.

P, C p, c. petere (cetera) Lucr. iv. 590. scatium (spatium) ib. i. 988. PLAVDVNT for CLAVDVNT is given by R in Verg. *Aen.* vi. 139. punctis (cunctis) Manil. v. 706. Cassius quidam Carmensis (Parmensis) Suet. *D. Aug.* 4. 2. This error must have been common in the early capital hands with an open P, e.g. the poem on Actium (A.D. 79).

P, R. paras (raras) Liv. xxiv. 2. 9. impetrarat (impetrabat) Cic. *ad Att.* i. 16. 4. rutat (putat) Luc. iv. 693. In Ammian. xx. 3. 1 secuturos thecanno VM : *for* secuto post haec anno ; the original error must have been *secutoros,* with the confusion of P and R common in reading the insular script.

p, u. aues (apes) Varro, *R. R.* iii. 2. 11. paulum (altered from *pauiu,* a corruption of *nauium*) Liv. xxi. 61. 4. Est ubi diuellat somnos minus inuida cura (*depellat* in some codd.) Hor. *Epp.* i. 10. 18.

r, n in insular hands, e.g. Vitruv. ii. 8. 17 *contigrationem* in G for *contignationem.*

(2) Misinterpretation of Contractions and Symbols.

Bast, 'Commentatio Palaeographica' (in Schaefer's *Gregorius Corinthius*) 1811 ; E. M. Thompson, *Int. to Gk. and Lat. Palaeography,* pp. 75–90 ; Traube, *Nomina Sacra,* 1907 ; Lindsay, *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule Manuscripts,* 1908 (a convenient summary of this is given in Karl Krumbacher, *Populäre Aufsätze,* pp. 310 sqq., and more shortly by Lindsay, *The Year's Work in Cl. Studies,* 1908, p. 119) ; T. W. Allen, *Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts,* 1889 ; Dougan, *Cic. Tusc.* p. xlvi ; F. Marx, *ad Herenn.* p. 26.

Contractions are of two kinds: (1) literal and syllabic contractions, where the word is shortened by the omission of some of the letters of which it consists ; (2) tachygrams, where a shorthand sign is substituted for the whole word or a part of it.

The study of contractions has gained in importance from the researches of Ludwig Traube who, working upon the suggestions

of Maunde Thompson and others, has shown convincingly the value of historical investigation. Such investigations may be the means of throwing light not only on textual corruptions, but also on the ancestry of manuscripts. It has long been recognized that the earliest method of contraction is to leave out the end of a word and to write one or more only of the initial letters or syllables, followed by a full stop in Latin or with the last letter above the line in Greek: e.g. D. = deus, DOM. = dominus, K. = Κύριος, παρ$^{\theta}$ = παρθένος—a method which Chassant long ago termed 'suspension'. Beside this system is another in which the middle of a word is left out and the beginning and end only given, with a bar drawn above them, e.g. $\overline{DS}$ = deus, $\overline{DNS}$ = dominus, $\overline{KC}$ = Κύριος. Traube would confine the term 'contraction' to this class. They are here called 'head-and-tail' contractions. Of these two methods the first is the earliest; the second is not found in Latin manuscripts till the influence of Christianity had become predominant. It is used by the Christians as a means of denoting the sacred names and terms that were constantly recurring in sacred texts or in theological works; e.g. Deus, Christus, Spiritus; and was by degrees extended to words outside the sacred vocabulary. In its origin it is derived from the reverent Hebrew custom of never writing the name of the Deity in full, but always by means of the mystic tetragram. This custom was imitated by the Greek translators of the Bible, who introduced such head-and-tail contractions as $\overline{\Theta C}$ = Θεός, $\overline{\alpha\nu\omega\nu}$ = ἀνθρώπων, $\overline{\pi\nu\bar{\alpha}}$ = πνεῦμα, and from them it has passed to the early Latin translators. These head-and-tail contractions invade the texts of profane Latin writers about the sixth century. In Greek lands, however, owing to the conservatism of scribes, they remain confined to ecclesiastical and kindred writings (e.g. treatises on magic, &c., which were influenced by Jewish learning) till the ninth century, when the revival of the ancient literature which is associated with the names of Arethas and Photius took place.

In accordance with these observations Traube argues that the codex Romanus of Vergil cannot be older than the sixth

century, since it gives the contraction DS for *deus* in *Ecl.* i. 9.[1] The word *nostri* is written *ń* in the half uncials of the sixth century. Two manuscripts belonging to the α-group in Caesar's *Gallic War* seem to postulate an archetype of the sixth century, since they constantly mistranscribe this symbol as *nim*, *nisi*, or *nihil*. A wider knowledge of the history of contractions will doubtless rule out a number of rash emendations. Traube's rule, for instance, would not allow us to assume a contraction such as $\overline{\text{ανων}}$ (i. e. *ἀνθρώπων*) as a basis for the emendation αλλωι in a manuscript older than the ninth century.

It is impossible in the present work to give a complete list of even the commoner contractions in Latin and Greek, and the lists given below must only be taken to illustrate some of the confusions that are possible. The list of Greek contractions which follows is taken chiefly from Venetus 474 of Aristophanes, eleventh century.

(*a*) *Contractions in Greek Manuscripts.*

Aesch. *Eum.* 567 ἥ τ' οὖν διάτορος Τυρσηνική. It has been proposed to emend this by assuming that οὖν is a corruption of the compendium for οὐρανός, e. g. εἰς οὐρανὸν δὲ διάτορος. But the suggestion has not been universally accepted.

Plato, *Phileb.* 23 D εἰμὶ δ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγὼ γελοῖός τις †ἱκανός†. The true reading is ἄνθρωπος: ισ has been corrupted to ισικ by dittography, and the compendium $\overline{\text{ανος}}$ for ἄνθρωπος misunderstood. Cf. Cobet, *V. L.* p. 14.

Eur. *Ion* 588 πέρι (πάτερ). *ibid.* 1304 $\pi\overline{\text{ρι}}$ γῆς (πατρικῆς). *Phoen.* 1038 ἄλλος ἄλλον (ἄλλος ἀλλ').

Isaeus viii. 42 φελλέα δὲ [χωρία ἅττα] ἐκείνῳ δέδωκε. An insertion of a marginal note which probably was originally χωρία Ἀττικῆς.

[1] Traube's conclusion in this particular case is not necessarily right but his argument is legitimate. The editor of the Vatican facsimile of the Romanus maintains that such contractions must have been common in the sixth century, as can be seen from the Taurinensis-Ambrosianus of Cassiodorus. They might therefore well have been used sporadically a century earlier.

Contractions in Gk. MSS.

(A) LINES

— (-ατ-) πᾶ = πατὴ
(α) ἑξαπαῦ = ἑξαπατᾷ
πᾶγδ = τραγῳδοῖς

⌒ (-την) τ̄ = τὴν. Also (-ιν) and (-εν) in earlier minuscule hands. These are represented later by

⌒ (-ιν) πτ̄ = πτόλιν
⌒ (-ειν) κό = κόπτειν
ι,ι (-αν) τ̄ πάτ = τὴν πάτραν
⌒ (-ον) ἀπλ̄ = Ἄπολλον
τ̄ = τὸν

× (-τε) τό = τότε, ποτ- = ποτε
÷ (-τα) δεινότ = δεινότατα
δ÷ = καὶ τὰ

→ (-οις) λαῖ = λαΐοις
✓ ⌐ ϛ ς (εν) μ̄ = μέν
ἀρεθ = ἀρεθὲν, κειμ̄ = κείμενα
⌡ ⌝ (δε) παλλήν = παλλήνιδε
× (-τε) τόχ = τότε

(B) CURVES

ϛ (αι) δμόνιε = δαιμόνιε
ἀθηνῆος = Ἀθηναῖος
ϛ (-ους) παρεσκευασμ̄ν = παρεσκευασμένους
ϛ (-ες) τιν = τίνες
~ sign of large contraction
ἀνθρ̃ος = ἄνθρωπος
οὐρ̃νον = οὐρανόν
~, ⌒ (ων) χτ̃ρίσκ = χιτωνίσκον
μ̃ = μίων
✓ (-ας) ἀπεκτειν = ἀπέκτεινας

(B) CURVES (cont'd)

ϛ (-ως) κατειληφ = κατειληφώς
ϛ = ὡς, πρε π̃τ = πρεσ-ὄντως
ϛ (-ουν) ἐσωκρατ = ἐσωκράτουν
παροικ̃τος = παροικοῦντος
π (-αις) τ̃ = ταῖς [also = (-ες) in X cent.]
~ (ωρ) νύκτ̃ = νύκτωρ
υ (-ου) τ̃ = τοῦ

(C) LETTERS, Etc.

ο supra (-ος) μόν = μόνος
ἀδελφ = ἀδελφὸς
ϛ supra (-ης) νίκ = νίκης
κριτ = κρίτης
ϛ supra (-ις) ἀκτ̃ = ἀκτὶς
ις supra (-εις) Ἡρ̃κλ = Ἡράκλεις
ϐ (-ου) τοιϛτ = τοιοῦτος
γ̀ = γὰρ
δ = διά
ε̃ = εἶναι
κ̀ = καί
κατ̀, κ̓ = κατά
ὅ = ὅτι, διό = διότι
π, πό = πρό
ὅ = ἡμέρα
☉ = ἥλιος

'Suspensory' contractions in common words often have the last letter written above: ε ϛ φ = φασὶ
χ̊ = Χορός, ἅπαν = ἅπαντων
σπον = σπουδῶν

Xenophon, *Oecon.* v. 12 ἔτι δὲ ἡ γῆ †θέουσα† . . . δικαιοσύνην διδάσκει. (θ̄σουσα = θεὸς οὖσα.) In some manuscripts the corruption has been emended to *θέλουσα*.

Athenaeus ii. 67 E ὀξὺ γὰρ E: ὅτι γὰρ C. The true reading is ὀξύγαρον = ὀξύγαλ.

Athenaeus viii. 367 B ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα †, καλὲ ἄνθρωπε,† συνεισεμπορήσαμεν. The emendation of the strange phrase καλὲ ἄνθρωπε to καλὲ Οὐλπιανέ, adopted by some editors, assumes that ἄνθρωπε is an expansion of ανε which was taken for a compendium of ἄνθρωπος.

Galen v. 69. 16 (Kühn) ἐνίους μὲν ὀνώδεις †ὁ τὰς† φύσει (ὄντας).

ib. v. 83. 15 τῆς ὅλης ἡμέρας [ὅτι]: where ὅτι has been intruded through the similarity of the compendia for ὅτι and ἡμέρα (v. *supra* 165).

Libanius iv, p. 252. 32 ὦ διάκονοι τυράννου,—ὑμεῖς μὲν ᾧεσθέ με δεδεμένον ἄξειν—ἅπιτε δὲ †κὲν χερσίν†. (κεναῖς χερσίν the compendium κεν" having been neglected.)

(*b*) *Contractions in Latin Manuscripts.*

In Latin manuscripts contractions are derived from the following sources:

(1) The old Roman system of simple 'suspension' used for common names, titles, &c., on inscriptions and coins, e.g. C = GAIVS. (2) The *notae Tironianae*, a system of tachygrams or shorthand invented or improved by Cicero's freedman, Tiro. (3) The *notae iuris*, found in juristic handbooks. These are borrowed in part from the two classes described, and in part are a separate development: e.g. the use of the sign ' for various endings—c' = *cum*, m' = *-mus*; and the use of suprascript letters—m̥ = *mihi*, m̊ = *modo*.[1] (4) The head-and-tail contractions described above, p. 163.

In the continuous hands contractions are rare. They are common in the insular hands where the separation of words is fairly consistent. It has been suggested that the practice began at the Irish monastery of Bobbio in Italy. Parchment was scarce,

[1] Complete collection by Mommsen in Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* iv, pp. 267 sqq.

and to save space the scribes adopted contractions from all the sources mentioned above. In the later dissected hands, where each word is written separately, contractions enter slowly at first (e.g. in Caroline minuscules), then in increasing volume (e.g. in so-called Lombardic), then in a flood (in Gothic), till they finally all but disappear in the humanistic hands of the fifteenth century.

The following brief survey of some of the contractions in use in the main Latin hands in which Latin texts have been preserved will serve to illustrate the problems of emendation which arise from the wrong interpretation of contractions.

(1) Capital hands. Cf. Ribbeck, *Vergil*, i. 260. The surviving instances of these hands are thought to belong to the period between the fourth and seventh centuries. The writing is continuous, contractions are rare.

(*a*) *Capitalis elegans* or *quadrata*, a large monumental hand.

(*b*) *Capitalis rustica*, a smaller and rougher hand.

B. = *bus*, Q. = *que*. There are a number of compound letters (*contignationes*) which give rise to errors; e. g. NS, NT, OS, TR, VL, VN, VS. Hence such variants as:

Verg. *Georg.* iii. 433 torquens M: torquent P. *Aen.* xi. 667 transuerberat] tranuerberat M.

(2) Uncials. The age of manuscripts in this hand is often difficult to determine. It superseded the capital hands in the fifth century and is still in use in the eighth century. Cf. Wessely's *Codex Vindobonensis of Livy* (facsimile); F. W. Shipley, *Certain sources of Corruption in Latin Manuscripts*, 1904, pp. 54 sqq.

Contractions (save in juridical works) are few and simple as in Capital hands:

(*a*) Suspensions: B. = *bus*, Q. = *que*, $\overline{\text{E}}$ = *est*, $\overline{\text{PR}}$ = *praetor* $\overline{\text{COS}}$ = *consul*, $\bar{\text{P}}$. $\bar{\text{R}}$. = *populus Romanus*. (*b*) stroke over vowel = *m* or more rarely *n*, but only at the end of lines. The contractions in *Half-Uncials* are very similar.

(3) Insular hands (*scriptura Scottica, Saxonica, litterae tonsae*), i. e. Irish and Anglo-Saxon; a peculiar type of the half-uncial developed in the sixth century.

The best account of the contractions will be found in Lindsay, *Contractions in Early Latin Minuscule Manuscripts*, 1908. A useful selection is given in De Vries, *Album Palaeographicum*, pp. xxv–xxvii, 1909.

A study of the system of contractions used in these manuscripts is of high importance, since books written in these handwritings are often exemplars from which the Carolingian scribes made their copies. Among the commonest tachygrams derived in some cases from the *notae Tironianae* and *notae iuris* are:

autem = ꝟ often confused with *hoc*, i. e. *h.*

con = ɔ. *contra* = ꝺ in early manuscripts. It was liable to be confused with *eius* and also with a sign for *-us*, *-os*.

eius = ɘ often misinterpreted by later copyists.

enim = ++ derived from a *nota iuris*; sometimes confused with the sign for *autem* (*supra*).

est = ÷ or ⁀. *quae* = q:·.

et = 7. *esse* = ꝫ (juristic).

m, *n* = a bar drawn over the preceding vowel *ā*, *ē*, *ī*, *ō*, *ū*.

The ordinary head-and-tail contractions are common, e. g.: d̄s = *deus*, p̄r = *pater*, nū̄o = *numero*.

Often the last letter in such contractions is suprascript:

ṁ = *mihi*, p̱ = *post*.

A number of small words are represented by the initial letter or letters only with the bar of contraction drawn above them:

ā = *aut*, c̄ = *cum*, etī = *etiam*.

Some old Roman contractions remain, e. g. q: = *que*, b: = *bus*.

(4) Carolingian hands. Contractions are not common in these hands. Most of them are in use also in Insular hands.

(*a*) *Tachygraphical signs*:

— or curve ~ suprascript = *m*; also *-en*, *-er*, as in Lombardic; e. g. patē = *pater*.

-us, *-ur* are denoted by an apostrophe, e. g. ei' = *eius*, temperet' = *temperetur*.

The Insular sign for *-ur* = 2 (suprascript) is also used.

est = ⁀.

(*b*) *Other contractions*:

ē. or .ē. = *est*, confused with ē = *-em*.

ēē, ẽẽ = *esse*.

qđ = *quod*. q: = *quae*.

ł = *uel*.

ꝑ = *per*. ꝓ = *pro*. ṕ = *pri*. p̄ = *prae*.

q̄m or q̄nm̄ = *quoniam*.

b., q: = *-bus*, *-que*.

Ordinary head-and-tail contractions n̄r̄ı̄ = *nostri*, &c.

Other tachygrams are in use later, e. g. the Tironian 7 = *et* and ↄ = *con*.

(5) Lombardic, i. e. *the Beneventan and Monte Cassino hand*: it probably has no connexion with Lombardy, but is a calligraphic development of the later Roman cursive. It reached its zenith in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Cf. H. Rostagno's preface to facsimile of the Laurentian codex of Tacitus, *Annals* xi–xvi in Sijthoff's series, 1902.

(*a*) *Tachygraphic signs*:

; = *-us*, often hardly distinguishable from the second sign for *m* below.

⸗ or 2 suprascript = *m* final or medial.

— suprascript = *en*, *er* final or medial.

2 suprascript = *-ur*.

(*b*) Contractions of both kinds are common; e. g.

ē = *est*. n̄ = *non*.

d̄os̄ = *deos*. fr̄ı̄ = *fratri*.

(*c*) ꝑ = *per*. p̄ or p̄ = *prae*.

ꝓ = *pro*. p' = *post*.

ſ = *sed*, easily confused with the ligatures for *si* and *fi*.

After the twelfth century, which saw the rise of the Gothic hands, contractions of every sort enter into Western handwriting.

Liv. iii. 35. 9. The Vindobonensis reads—consulibus tantissimo (constantissimo).

ib. xxx. 42. 12 factionibus archinae, codd. recc. for *factioni Barcinae*, i. e. wrongly divided as *factionib. arcinae* and misinterpreted.

In these instances abbreviations have been wrongly assumed by the scribes. In the following they have been wrongly interpreted.

Cic. *pro Archia* § 8 adsunt Heraclienses legati . . . qui hunc adscriptum Heracliensem ⟨esse⟩ dicunt (Heracliensē ēē dicunt).

ib. § 11 delatus est a Lucullo praetore consule [*sic* E] (pro consule).

Cic. *pro Sestio* § 127 quibus autem consistere . . . non liceat (G has the compendium for *hoc*, a mistake for the insular compendium for *autem*, v. *supra*).

Propertius iii. 7. 46 nil, nisi flere, potest DV: ubi flere NFL; a confusion of *ñ* and *ũ*.

Catullus 64. 120 portaret amorem OG, for *praeoptarit*, i. e. *p̄optarit* > *poptarit* > *portaret*.

ib. 68. 16 iucundum cum aetas florida uer ageret, corrupted in O (l. 49) to florida *ut* ageret, i. e. *ū* has been misinterpreted.

Manilius v. 49 Persida, misread as p̧sid̃a or p̧sid'a appears as *per sidera*.

ib. v. 738 respublica mundi MSS. respendere, respondere; i.e. r . . p, has evidently been confused with some other contraction (? juristic) for *respondere*. (Cf. Keil, *GL*. iv, p. 299 R̃P = *respondit*.)

Germanicus, *Arat. Phaen.* 271 plurimulum acceptae prolis: multum accepta epulis, Haupt. *epulis=epl̃is=prolis*.

(3) Mistranscription through general resemblance.

Madvig, *Adv.* i, p. 19 (especially p. 25); Vollgraff, p. 28; Bywater, p. 15; Tucker, *Choephori*, p. lxxxvi.

Many of these errors are due at the outset to wrong combination (cf. I. (4) *infra*).

Aesch. *Eum.* 727 σύ τοι παλαιὰς †δαίμονας† καταφθίσας (διανομάς).

Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1047 ἰώ μοι μοίρας †ἄνετικτε† δαίμων (ἄτεγκτε).

Menander, *Fr.* 402. 1 ἐπ' †ἀμφοτέραν ἴνα† (or ἀμ̃φοτερανιν) ἡπί-κληρος ἡ καλὴ μέλλει καθευδήσειν (ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρ̃αν ῥ̃ῖν')

Eur. *Phoen.* 538 τὸ γὰρ ἴσον νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ (μόνιμον).

Apollon. *Vit. Aeschinis*, § 9 ἐξέπεσεν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ στρατευόμενος †καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ† ἀριστείων ἠξιώθη. From Aeschin. *Fals. Leg.* 147 it is clear that the reading must be στρατευόμενος ἐν Ἀσίᾳ.

Among such confusions may be noted :—*ἀθρόοι, ἄνθρωποι* (Plato, *Gorg.* 490 B) ; *ἀντίπορος, ἀντίρροπος* (Arrian, *Anab.* iv. 27. 3) ; *ἀπόντων, ἁπάντων* (Lys. xix. 51); *ἀσκοῦντας, ἀκούοντας* (Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 3. 35) ; *βασιλεῦσαι, βλακεῦσαι* (Arrian, *Anab.* iii. 6. 8) ; *ἔθος, ἔθνος* (Galen, *π. ψυχ. παθ.* 14) ; *ἑκατοστός, εἰκοστός* (Ath. 543 A); *ἐπιορκίαν, ἐπικουρίαν* (Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 116) ; *θάτερον, θέατρον* (Plato, *Laws* 659 A) ; *κνῆσις, κίνησις* (Plato, *Phileb.* 46 D) ; *ὁπλίτης, πολίτης* (Lys. xiv. 9 and xv. 11) ; *πάλιν, πόλιν, πάνυ, πολύ* (Eur. *Heracl.* 933) ; *πελάγιος, πλάγιος* (Strabo iii. 167); *ῥώμη, ὁρμή* (Julian, *Or.* viii. 241 D) ; *σκωλήκων, σκυλάκων* (Galen, *π. ψυχ. ἁμαρτ.* 87) ; *τόπος, τρόπος* (Lys. xxxiii. 7).

It should be remembered that some of these confusions are rendered easier by the environment in which they occur: e.g. Plat. *Lysis* 212 C †οἰόμενοι† οἴονται οὐκ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι (οἱ μὲν). Here οἱ μὲν has passed naturally into οἰόμενοι owing to the influence of the following οἴονται. It would not necessarily follow that the change would be equally convincing in a different environment.

Liv. xxi. 4. 6 cibi potionisque desiderio naturali, non *uoluntate* modus finitus (uoluptate ; cf. Plin. *Epp.* ii. 17. 24).

ib. xxi. 40. 9 membra *torrida* gelu (torpida ; cf. xxi. 58. 9).

Valerius Max. ix. 12 *Ext.* 8 unius grani pertinacior in aridis faucibus *umor* absumpsit (mora).

Valerius, *Res Gest. Alex.* i. 30 (Kuebler, p. 33. 4) quae etiam tunc animo *uoluntas* indidem proficiscitur (uolutans).

Seneca, *N. Q.* iii. 18. 1 nihil . . . mullo expirante illo formosius . . . rubor primum, deinde pallor subfunditur, *quam aeque* uariantur (squamaeque).

Cf. also ciuis, cuius (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1185) ; fortiter, ferociter (Liv. iii. 47. 2); ingenita, ingentia (Q. Curt. v. 6. 9) ; iustius, istius (ib. v. 5. 2) ; manibus, manubiis (Liv. xxxiii. 47. 3) ; nouus, bonus (Sen. *Epp.* 118. 7) ; persequeretur, per se quaereretur (Liv. xl. 12. 11) ; recipere, reciperare (Cic. *Diuinatio in Q. C.* § 72) ; tristis, tritus (Stat. *Theb.* ii. 366).

Cf. Dr. Johnson's emendation, Boswell (ed. Hill), v. 214, 'The Devil answers *even in engines*' (ever in enigmas). Jane Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, ch. xxvi, 'By ten o'clock the chaise-and-four conveyed the *two* from the abbey, &c.' As it is clear from the context that the party must have consisted of three, Dr. Verrall has suggested that the reading should be altered to *trio*. Shelley, *Ariel to Miranda*, 'The artist who this *idol* wrought' (viol). Keats' *Sonnet* xii, 'Pink robes and wavy hair and diamond *jar*' (tiar). *Times*, Aug. 14, 1906, 'One doctor described his case as that of *miniature* development' (immature). *ib.* Nov. 30, 1912, p. 3, 'The crown lays no claim to *lumbago* found in lands sold by it prior to 1901' (plumbago).

(4) (*a*) **Wrong combination or separation, often leading to 'ghost-words' and to false accommodation** (cf. I (5) *infra*). (*b*) **Wrong punctuation.**

(*a*) *Wrong combination or separation.*

Madvig, *Adv.* i, p. 26; Hagen, pp. 76-8; Owen, *Ovid, Tristia*, p. xxxvii; Beer, *Spicileg. Iuv.*, p. 13; Vollgraff, p. 15; Marquardt, *Galen*, i, p. xxxv; Hosius, *Lucan*, pp. viii sqq.

Such errors are often due to an archetype written in continuous script. v. Christ, *Arist. Metaphys.*, p. vii; Heraeus, *Quaest. Crit.* § 1.

Aesch. *Fr.* 275 ἐρῳδιὸς γὰρ ὑψόθεν ποτώμενος, †ὅν θ' ὡς ἔπληξεν, ἡ δ' νἱὸς χειλώμασιν† (ὄνθῳ σε πλήξει νηδύος κενώμασιν).

Anaxilas, *Fr.* 22. 14 (Kock) †ὡς τὰ πολλά γ' εἰσὶ ταύτης† (ὥστ' ἀπαλλαγεῖσι ταύτης).

Soph. *Ajax* 1056 ὡς ἐλοιδόρει (ὡς ἔλοι δορί).

Eur. *H. F.* 1115 ἀκανθεών τις εἶπαθ' οἳ καταστένει (ἃ κἂν θεῶν τις, εἰ πάθοι, καταστένοι).

Anaxandrides *Fr.* 49 (Kock) ὅτι εἶμ' ἀλαζὼν τοῦτ' ἐπιτιμᾷς †ἀλλά τινι καὶ† γὰρ αὕτη τὰς τέχνας πάσας πολύ (ἀλλὰ τί; νικᾷ γάρ).

Theocrit. 28. 24 κῆνο γάρ τις ἐρεῖ †τω Ποσείδων σ'† (τῶπος ἰδών σ').

Plutarch, *Non posse suauiter*, 1102 B καὶ θύων μὲν ὡς μαγείρῳ παρέστηκε τῷ ἱερεῖ σφάττοντι, θύσας δ' ἅπεισι λέγων †τὸ μὲν ἀνδρεῖον† ἔθυον οὐ προσέχουσιν οὐδέν μοι θεοῖς (τὸ Μενάνδρειον).

Galen, v. 14. 8 (Kühn) μηδ' ἂν ἐν ἔθνεσι τοῖς καλῶς τεθραμμένοις (L has ἔθνεσι καλῶς τοῖς τεθρ. which points to ἐν ἔθεσι καλλίστοις τεθρ.).

Plaut. *Amph.* 151 adest ferit (adeste erit, i.e. a wrong separation together with confusion of E and F).

Verg. *Aen.* ix. 716 Inarime, from misunderstanding εἰν Ἀρίμοις in *Iliad* ii. 783.

Liv. xxxiv. 57. 8 *aut ex formula* iuris antiqui aut ex partis utriusque commodo. (This the right reading is preserved in the *Moguntinus*. The *Palatini* have: aut *ex eo simula*, emended by the inferior manuscripts to *ex aequo simul.*)

Sen. *Epp.* 22. 15 illa (natura) *nobis conqueri* (nobiscum queri).

Sen. *Epp.* 89. 4 philosophia unde dicta sit apparet: ipso enim nomine fatetur. *quidam et* sapientiam ita quidam finierunt etc. (fatetur quid amet. Sapientiam).

Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 25 uia temptantem (ui attemptantem).

Val. Max. ii. 3. 3 ideoque auctori eius Nauio honos *adhuc est* habitus (a duce est).

Cf. Shakespeare, *Henry V*, iv. iii. 104, 'Mark then *abounding* valour in our English' (? a bounding, *Theobald*); *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, iv. i. 38, 'Fairies, be gone and be *always* away' (all ways); *Richard III*, iv. iv. 324, 'Advantaging their loan with interest *Oftentimes* double gain of happiness' (Of ten times). Mr. H. Bradley informs me that the ghost-word 'litie' was once sent in to the Oxford Dictionary supported by the quotation, 'the barbarity and *inside litie* of the Turks' (infidelity).

(*b*) *Wrong punctuation, often leading in Greek to the insertion of particles such as* γάρ, καί, δέ.

F. A. Wolf laid special stress on punctuation. 'Da codicem prope interpunctum, commentarii iusti uicem habebit' (Prolegomena ch. i). Vahlen, *Opusc.* i. 103–20.

Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* 1122^{b} 25 ἄξια γὰρ δεῖ τούτων εἶναι καὶ μὴ μόνον τῷ ἔργῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ποιοῦντι πρέπειν . . . πρέπει δὲ [καὶ] οἷς τοιαῦτα προϋπάρχει κτλ., where the καί has been inserted through

failure to observe that the three lines in the text between πρέπειν and πρέπει are a parenthesis, vid. Bywater, *Contributions* ad loc. and cf. 1166ª 10.

Plaut. *Epid.* 352–3 (v. 353 is rejected by some edd., but should be retained with altered punctuation):

nam leno omne argentum apstulit pro fidicina (ego resolui, manibus his denumeraui) pater suam natam quam esse credit.

Plaut. *Trin.* 389 ecce autem (in benignitate hoc repperi) negotium.

Cf. Selden, *Table Talk* (ed. Reynolds), p. 47, s.v. House of Commons: 'The House of Commons is called the Lower House in twenty acts of Parliament: but what are twenty acts of Parliament amongst friends?' Here *amongst friends* is an exclamation in parenthesis such as Selden uses elsewhere, e.g. pp. 73, 74, cf. the contemporary memoirs of Sir J. Reresby, ed. 1904, p. 283: 'The Lord Treasurer and others drank themselves into that state of frenzy that (amongst friends) it was whispered that they had stripped into their shirts, &c.'[1] Gray, *Elegy*:

'For, who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing anxious being e'er resigned,'

where the commas destroy the construction, which surely is 'who resigned this anxious being as a prey to forgetfulness'.

(5) Assimilation of Words and of Terminations.

Madvig, *Adv.* i, p. 53; Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. xxxix; J. B. Mayor, *Clement of Alexandria*, p. lxxiv; J. B. Mayor, *De Nat. Deorum*, i, p. lxi; Friedrich, *Catullus*, p. 139; S. G. Owen, *Ovid, Tristia*, p. lxxvii; Marquardt, *Galen*, i, p. xxxviii.

This error like those arising from wrong combination and separation often leads to 'accommodation of construction', i.e. an attempt is made to readjust the construction of the sentence by further alterations. Cf. Dougan, *Cic. Tusc.* p. liv.

Aristoph. *Vesp.* 544 θαλλοφόροι καλοίμεθ' ἂν
τωμοσιῶν κελύφη

[1] I owe this reference to the Rev. H. E. D. Blakiston.

for καλούμεθ', ἀντωμοσιῶν κ. Here the scribe's eye has wandered to the syllable ἀν- which he has hastily taken for the particle ἄν. The verb has been put in the optative in order to suit the construction of ἄν.

Aristot. *Rhet.* 1378^{b} 2 τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος (so A^{c} for τὴν ἀπὸ owing to the influence of the following τῆς).

Dio Chrys. *Or.* lxiv, p. 341 (ἡ τύχη δέδωκε) Σωκράτει φρόνησιν, Ἀριστείδει δικαιοσύνην, Λακεδαιμονίοις †τὴν Ἀθηναίων† θάλασσαν (Λακεδ. γῆν, Ἀθηναίοις θάλ.).

Pausanias x. 24. 4 θεάσαιο ἄν . . . †ἔστιν ἀνέφηνεν ὁ πτολέμων† . . . ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέκτεινεν (cod. Angelicus for ἑστίαν ἐφ' ᾗ Νεοπτόλεμον). Here the word πτολέμων has been given a participial ending in order to accommodate it to the preceding ὁ.

Galen, v. 38. 17 (Kühn) καὶ τὰ μὲν (παιδία) φιλόπονα . . . τὰ δ' ἀμελῆ . . . ἔνια μὲν †ἐπὶ τῷ χαίρειν ἐπαινούμενα† . . . ἔνια δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ καταγιγνώσκεσθαι . . . αἰδούμενα (ἐπὶ τῷ ἐπαινεῖσθαι χαίροντα). The participle ἐπαινούμενα has been imported through false accommodation to the following participle αἰδούμενα.

Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vii. 64 a quo Accius ait *personas distortas oribus deformis* miriones (personas distortis oribus deformis).

Liv. iii. 50. 6 sibi uitam filiae su*ae* cariorem fuisse (sua).

Sen. *de Tranq.* 16. 2 uide quomodo quisque illorum tulerit et si fortes fuerunt ipsorum illos *animos* desidera (animo, i. e. 'we ought to lament the loss of brave men with the same bravery which they themselves have shown').

Cf. Kingsley, *Andromeda*:

'But the boy still lingered around her,
Loath like a boy to forgo her, and *waken* the cliffs with his laughter' (*waken'd*).

'Rule Britannia, B. *rules* the waves,' &c. This is now the vulgate reading which is found even in Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. The right version is 'B. *rule* the waves', the verb having been adjusted in tense to the following statement.

(6) **Transposition: (*a*) of Letters and Syllables especially Terminations (Anagrammatism, Metathesis). (*b*) Of Words and Passages.**

(*a*) *Transposition of Letters and Syllables.*

Madvig, *Adv.* i, p. 50; Schubart, p. 91; Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. xli; Hagen, p. 88; Housman, *Manilius I*, p. liv; Richards, *Xenophon and Others*, p. 302.

This error is especially common in the transcription of proper names: e.g. Κίμωνος, Μίκωνος (Pausanias iii. 12), Θεσσαλίας, θαλασσίας (ib. vii. 2). It is often due to general resemblance (cf. *supra* I (3)). But it is no doubt also due, as Schubart suggests, to a faulty pronunciation by mouths no longer familiar with the sounds of the older language. This does not imply that the scribes wrote to dictation, but only that just as the pronunciation of familiar words would be present to their minds when they wrote, so when the word was unfamiliar they attempted instinctively to find a pronunciation for it, and the pronunciation they found influenced what they wrote: e.g. χείμαρρος, μείχαρρος: θάψαι, ψάθαι.

Aristoph. *Ach.* 91 ἥκοντες ἄγομεν *contra metrum* R for ἄγοντες ἥκομεν.

Plat. *Rep.* 437 D ἐν ὀλίγῳ (ἑνὶ λόγῳ).

Lucian, *Timon* 57 τί ἀγανακτεῖς ὦγαθὲ †τίμων† παρακέκρουσμαί σε (μῶν τι).

Cic. *pro Muren.* § 49 *certe* ipsi candidatorum obscurior *ei uideri* solet (creta ipsa . . . obscurior euadere solet).

Cf. Gaskell, *Cranford*, ch. xiv, 'a little of the cold *loin* sliced and fried' (the context requires 'cold *lion*').

(*b*) *Transposition of Words and Passages.*

(*a*) *In Poetry.* The transposition of words is common here, the reason being, as W. Headlam shows (*C.R.* 1902, pp. 243 sqq.), that the scribes tend to write the words in the order of prose.

Eur. *I. A.* 396 †τὰ δ' ἀμ' οὐκ† ἀποκτενῶ 'γὼ τέκνα (so C for τἀμὰ δ' οὐκ).

Aristoph. *Eq.* 231: R has ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γὰρ †οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν† ἤθελεν (αὐτὸν οὐδείς).

id. *Plutus* 715 οὐκ ὀλίγας εἶχε (εἶχεν οὐκ ὀλίγας), cf. *Eccl.* 227.

Lucret. v. 331 natura *mundist* (naturast mundi).

ib. 1198 ulla *uelatumst* (ullast uelatum).

The transposition of passages in poetry is due to damage inflicted on the archetype and to the various causes of transcriptional error such as homoeoteleuton. The passages omitted are often noted in the margin by the corrector, and are inserted out of place by some subsequent copyist. The loose construction o poetry (especially of elegiac poetry, where each distich tends to be a complete thought in itself) does not always betray the disturbance which has taken place, and if the text depends ultimately upon a single manuscript, such transpositions may easily become part of the tradition. Instances of this will be found *passim* in Lucretius and Propertius. Cf. Postgate, *C. R.* 1902, p. 306.

(*β*) In *Prose* the transposition of *Words* is due often (1) to the unwillingness of scribes to insert a word or phrase in its proper place when they have omitted or anticipated it by accident. In order not to deface the page they often write the missing words later. Cf. G. Hermann, *Opusc.* iii. 104; Madvig, *Adv.* i. 46; Lehrs, *Aristarchus*, p. 354; Peterson, *Codex Cluniacensis*, p. xvi. (2) Occasionally *words* implying some well-known antithesis are interchanged. Cf. Marquardt, *Galen*, i, p. xxxviii.

Isaeus, xi. 21 †τὸν μὲν νικᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἡττᾶν† (τὸν μὲν ἡττᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ νικᾶν).

Galen, v. 40. 12 (Kühn) ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν φύσιν ἔχω, οὐκ ἔχω †γνῶναι†. τὸ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν †φάναι† χαλεπόν ἐστι, where γνῶναι and φάναι have been interchanged.

The transposition of *Passages* in prose is rarer since the argument or narrative cannot often be disturbed without exciting the attention of the reader. Such dislocations have sometimes become permanent when they involve a page or a whole section of the text: e. g.

Xen. *Anab.* vi. 3. 14 sqq.

Galen, *Hipp. περὶ ἄρθρων*, c. 45 (vol. ii, p. 171. 13, Kühlwein).

[The following instances were pointed out to me by Mr. I. Bywater:

Diog. Laert. i. 86 *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν γενέσθαι τῆς φύσεως ἔργον· τὸ δὲ λέγειν δύνασθαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πατρίδι ψυχῆς ἴδιον καὶ φρονήσεως. εὐπορίαν δὲ χρημάτων πολλοῖς καὶ διὰ τύχην περιγίνεσθαι.*

So the manuscripts and editions of Diogenes. But the *Versio Antiqua* (of which fragments survive in Walter Burley and Hieremias Judex) had here: 'Fortem esse opus nature est; copiam habere pecuniarum opus fortune est; posse autem fari congrua patrie anime et sapientie proprium est.'

It is clear that in the existing Greek text the three clauses should be read in the order 1, 3, 2, as in the Version.

Philo, *De incorr. mundi*, p. 492. 10, ed. Mangey. After *ἄδεκτον ἔσται* come two blocks of text:

(1) *ὑποστῆναι to συνεπιγραψάμενος* (p. 492. 10 to 497. 8).

(2) *κατὰ τὸ παντελές to τὸ μηδὲ χρόνον* (p. 497. 8 to 502. 34).

Bernays transposed these two blocks, putting the second first, so as to follow immediately after *ἄδεκτον ἔσται*, on the assumption that the order of the leaves in the original manuscript has got disturbed. See his *Gesammelte Abhandl.* i, p. 283, and his paper read in 1876 before the Berlin Academy where the restored text is printed in full.

Priscianus Lydus, ed. Berol, p. 100. 16. After *multitudo* come two blocks of text:

(1) quaedam aridae *to* sunt per quos (p. 100. 16 to 102. 5).

(2) non sunt contrarii *to* aestimatum eo quod (p. 102. 5 to 103. 20).

Two inferior manuscripts (CM) transpose these two blocks of text, making *non sunt contrarii* (&c.) follow immediately after *multitudo* (p. 100. 6). There must have been something wrong with the leaves of the immediate archetype of CM.]

A startling instance of transposition which passed unnoticed by the author himself and generations of readers is to be seen in Kant's *Prolegomena*, where H. Vaihinger's transposition of three pages from § 4 to § 2 is now accepted.

Editors have often been unwilling to assume the transposition

of smaller passages in prose. But as Brinkmann has shown in *Rhein. Mus.* 1902, pp. 481 sqq., such an assumption is often justified. From the earliest times[1] scribes have been in the habit of marking an omission that they have noticed by writing the omitted words in the upper or lower margin of the page and attaching them to the nearest 'catchword' in the text. Such a catchword is usually the word which follows the omission. Sometimes, however, it is the word which immediately precedes: e.g.

Iamblichus, *Protrept.* ch. 9 ἐρωτηθέντα, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα ἕλοιτο γενέσθαι τις καὶ ζῆν, ἀποκρίνασθαι . . . ὡς τοῦ θεάσασθαι τὰ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄστρα κτλ., where a parallel passage shows that the reading should be θεάσασθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ⟨τὰ⟩ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄστρα, i.e. the word τὰ was found by some scribe to be omitted and he inserted it in the margin before its catchword περὶ and the words τὰ περὶ have been inserted in the wrong place in the text.

Suidas gives the list of Phrynichus' comedies as: Ἐφιάλτης, Κόννος, Κρόνος, Κωμασταί, Σάτυροι, Τραγῳδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελεύθεροι, Μονότροπος, Μοῦσαι, Μύστης, Ποάστριαι, Σάτυροι. Other evidence attributes only ten plays to this author. Either therefore we must assume that he wrote two plays with the title Σάτυροι (which is improbable) or that Μονότροπος . . . Ποάστριαι had been omitted and were inserted in the margin before their proper catchword Σάτυροι. As the list is alphabetical this assumption is almost a certainty.

Athenaeus xi. 505 F ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐ δύναται Πάραλος καὶ Ξάνθιππος οἱ Περικλέους υἱοὶ [τελευτήσαντες τῷ λοιμῷ] Πρωταγόρᾳ διαλέγεσθαι, ὅτε ⟨τὸ⟩ δεύτερον ἐπεδήμησε ταῖς Ἀθήναις, οἱ ἔτι πρότερον τελευτήσαντες ⟨τῷ λοιμῷ⟩. Here the first τελευτήσαντες τῷ λοιμῷ is out of place and the error has obviously arisen from the desire of the scribe to insert τῷ λοιμῷ after the second τελευτήσαντες. As τῷ λοιμῷ ends the sentence it was inserted in the margin after the catch-

[1] Cf. Simplicius *in Categ.* Kalbfleisch, p. 88. 24 διττογραφία τις ἐν τούτοις συνέβη· οὐδὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκ περιττοῦ τοῖς λόγοις προστίθησιν, ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔξω παραγεγραμμένης τῆς ἄλλης γραφῆς οἱ γράφοντες τὰ δύο εἰς τὸ ἑδάφιον (the text) ἐνέγραψαν.

word τελευτήσαντες and a subsequent scribe has copied the passage in the wrong place.

For similar transpositions in Livy see Conway and Walters, *C. Q.*, 1910, p. 274; 1911, p. 2.

(7) Mistranscription of Greek into Latin and vice versa.

Hagen, p. 84.

Numberless instances will be found in the critical editions of writers such as Aulus Gellius, Apuleius, Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, and Macrobius.

Cic. *Ad Att.* xvi. 11. 1 ex quo ante ipsa posuisti (ἄνθη).

Martial, *Lib. Spect.* xxi. 8 facta ita pictoria (facta παρ' ἱστορίαν).

Procop. *de Bell. Goth.* i. 7 ἀερίσας ἄρτα (AFRICA CAPTA).

(8) Confusion of Numerals: numerals introduced into the text in place of other words.

Bede, *Op.* i. 149 numeri . . . negligenter describuntur et negligentius emendantur. Cobet, *V. L.*, p. 362. F. W. Shipley, *Certain sources of corruption*, p. 46.

Thuc. iv. 13. 2. πεντήκοντα (τεσσαράκοντα).

Lysias xxv. 14 οὔτε τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐγενόμην . . . οὐδ' ἐπειδὴ †οἵδε† κατέστησαν οὐδείς με ἀποδείξει ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄρξαντα (οἱ τριάκοντα, Λ = 30 misread as Δ); cf. Isaeus, viii. 7. 5.

Dionys. Hal. viii. 1685 συνεβούλευσεν ἑλέσθαι (ἑλέσθαι ι, i.e. δέκα).

Athenaeus 640 D (Sophilus): the Marcianus reads οὐχὶ $\overline{\text{B}}$: other manuscripts οὐχὶ δύο. The right reading is οὐχὶ δώδεκα, i.e. οὐχὶ $\overline{\text{IB}}$.

id. 137 C πόρναι δύο εἰσῆλθον (πόρναι δ' εἰσῆλθόν).

Cic. *Epp. ad Fam.* xv. 4. 9 castellaque *sex* capta complura incendimus (ui capta); cf. *Phil.* x. 7. 15, where an inferior codex reads *duo* for *ii*.

Sueton. *D. Aug.* 54 Antistius Labeo senatus lectione, cum *triumuirum* legeret, M. Lepidum legit (cum *uir uirum*—which has been wrongly transcribed as cum *iii uirum* and this in turn expanded into *triumuirum*).

The difficulty of maintaining accuracy in numerals caused

grave inconvenience in ancient times. Damocrates (*circ.* A.D. 50) is known to have written his medical recipes in iambic verse in order to avoid corruption. v. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc.* iv. 2069.

In Latin manuscripts of the Carolingian period there is a frequent confusion of ∞ = 1000 with X = 10. The symbol for 500 (Ⅾ) was often omitted because it was mistaken for an ordinary D with the sign of erasure drawn through it.

(9) Confusion in Proper Names.

Madvig, *Adv.* i. 142; Schubart, pp. 5 sqq. and 93; Cobet, *V. L.*, p. 12; F. W. Shipley, *Sources of Corruption*, p. 20; Heraeus, *Quaest. Crit.*, p. 42 (on mistakes arising from abbreviated names).

This species of confusion is common even in the best manuscripts, e.g. the Blandinian of Horace read *Claudi* for *Caudi* in *Sat.* i. 5. 51. Latin scribes frequently alter a proper name to the adjective which comes nearest to it in outward form: e.g. *Batti* appears as *beati*, *Cleomenes* as *clemens*; cf. Friedrich, *Catullus*, pp. 169 and 206.

Thuc. i. 61. 3 ἐπιστρέψαντες (ἐπὶ Στρέψαν).

ib. 5. 2. 2 κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν †Κολοφωνίων† λιμένα (Κωφὸν λιμένα).

Aristot. Ἀθ. Πολ. xvii αυτου for Ἀνύτου. Cf. Xen. *Apologia* 31. (Due to the suprascript sign for *ν*.)

Plutarch, *Mor.* 777 D οὐ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἀφροδίτη ταῖς τοῦ †προσπόλου† θυγατράσιν ἐμήνιεν ὅτι κτλ. (Προποίτου, cf. Ovid, *Metam.* x. 221).

Athenaeus, 506 D τὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου †καὶ νικίαν† (Κλεινίαν).

Often the corruption could not have been remedied but for external evidence: e.g.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 99 B †ἕνα† μέντοι φασὶν ἵππον ζωγραφοῦντα, where the name Νεάλκη could not have been restored but for the evidence of Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 104.

Cic. *in Pis.* 85 Iouis *uelsuri* fanum (Iouis Urii, i.e. Οὐρίου: cf. *In Verr.* 2 *Act.* iv. 128).

In Verr. 2 *Act.* iv. 49 homini nobili *meliorum* hospiti. (So

the Harleian. The Regius has *iucoliorum*, a corruption of *Lucullorum*.)

Pro Sest. 62. 130 ad *unum dicitius* or ad *unum dicto citius* (ad Numidici illius).

Liv. xxii. 16. 4 *fortunae minas* saxa (Formiana saxa).

Suet. *Calig.* 23. 1 Actiacas *singulasque* uictorias (Siculas).

Sen. Rhet. *Suasor.* vii. 12 Cestium *praetorem* (Cestium P(ium) rhetorem. Here the mistake has come from the abbreviation).

A good instance of the confusion caused by this form of error will be found in H. Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 272. Suet. *Calig.* 44 says 'Nihil autem amplius quam *Adminio Cynobellini* Britannorum regis filio . . . in deditionem recepto', which is corrupted in Orosius, *Hist. adu. paganos*, vii. 5. 5 to 'Cumque ibi *Minocynobelinum* Brittannorum regis filium . . . in deditionem recepisset'. This is further corrupted in Nennius into '*Minocenni Bellinum* Brittannorum regis filium', who appears in the Welsh triads as 'Beli mawr ab Mynogan'. (I owe this reference to Mr. W. H. Stevenson.)

It is rare to find proper names introduced as the result of corruption:

Thuc. v. 77. 4 περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος, αἱ μὲν λῆν, κτλ. (μὰ τὴν σεμέλην is the hopeless corruption of some inferior manuscripts).

Eur. *Heraclid.* 163 Τιρυνθίοις θῆς (τί ῥυσιασθείς).

Max. Tyr. xxxviii. 3 G Ξεναγόρας (ἐξ ἀγορᾶς).

Liv. xxxv. 16. 6 in *Antiochum* ius repetit (in antiquum ius).

Tac. *Ann.* iv. 73. 1 ad *sua tutanda* degressis rebellibus, whence Ptolemy, *Geog.* ii. 11. 12, has probably invented the bogus town Σιατουτάνδα.

Cf. Ennius ap. Cic. *d. nat. d.* iii. 25. 65, where Vahlen would read *ni ob rem* for *Niobe*.

Substitution of biblical names by Christian Scribes. This is of course unconscious. Cf. Friedrich, *Catullus*, p. 339 and *infra*.

Julian, *Conviv.*, p. 321 A Ἑβραίων *for* Ἰβήρων.

Libanius, i. 352. 10 (Foerster, i, p. 521) Γαλιλαίαν *for* Ἰταλίαν.

Cic. *Phil.* xi. 4 Galileam (in one manuscript) *for* Galliam.

Liv. xxxvi. 21. 2 Christoteles *for* Aristoteles.
Suet. *D. Iul.* 25. 1 Gehenna *for* Cebenna.
Quint. Curt. iii. 8. 1 Barnabazo *for* Pharnabazo.
Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 17. 4 hebrei *for* ebrii.

Cf. Chaucer, *Book of the Duchesse*, 167, 'Eclympasteyre, That was the god of slepës heyre'—a corrupt name that has not yet been emended. Byron, *Childe Harold*, ii. 51. 3, 'Chimaera's Alps extend from left to right' (Chimari's). Shelley, *Prometheus*, 137, 'and *love* how I cursed him' (and, Jove, how, &c.).

(10) Mistakes due to change in Pronunciation.

On the question whether dictation is or is not the source of many errors different opinions are still held. Ebert, *Handschriftkunde*, i. 138; Madvig, *Adv.* i. 10; Schubart, p. 90; W. Schubart, *Das Buch b. d. Griechen u. Römern*, p. 142; hold the view (which seems most probable) that there is little evidence that dictation on a large scale was ever practised in antiquity, and that there is no evidence that it was practised in mediaeval monasteries, where silence was rigidly enjoined in the scriptorium. Neither the 'subscriptiones' which are frequently added at the end of manuscripts nor the errors which manuscripts exhibit afford any ground for such an assumption, while the 'probationes pennae' so frequently found (p. 84) are direct evidence against it. The explanation of the many errors which seem due to defective pronunciation or to the confusion of ancient with modern sounds is to be sought in the intimate connexion which exists between the ear and the eye (cf. *supra*, p. 85). The eye of the copyist takes in a small portion of the text, but what his eye sees is necessarily presented to his mind as a collocation of sounds, and hence the sound which would come most readily to his lips is produced as readily by his pen. This view will explain such mistakes as *fac sit* for *faxit* in Ter. *Ph.* 554 and *nec sibus* for *nexibus* (i. e. *nixibus*) Verg. *G.* iv. 199, and such common errors as *magorum* (for *maiorum*), *agebat* (for *aiebat*), *gemebat* (*hiemabat*), &c. It is hard to resist the conclusion that texts

would be in a far more hopeless condition if dictation had ever been a recognized aid in reproduction. With a reader as well as a copyist employed the chances of error would have been doubled at the outset.[1] For the methods of copyists see p. 11 and p. 83.

Against this view: Keller-Holder, *Horace*, i, p. 62; Ribbeck, *Vergil*, i. 257–8.

Among the commonest errors in Greek, due to changes in pronunciation are: (*a*) The confusion of ι, η, υ, ει, οι (called *Itacism* where ι prevails). Cf. Madvig, *Adv.* i. 99; Vollgraff, p. 25, p. 31; Wyse, *Isaeus*, p. xli.

Lys. *Or.* xiii. 34 οἱ τριάκοντα κατέστησαν καὶ †τοιοῦτον δεινὸν† τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο (τί οὖ τῶν δεινῶν).

Theocr. xiv. 17 βολβός τις κοχλίας (probably βολβός, κτείς).

Athenaeus 508 B ἄπεισι (ἃ πείσει). ib. i. 613 D τι εἰ τι (τήτῃ).

Plutarch, *Pelopid.* 23 πρὸς οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐπαίδευον αὐτοὺς καὶ συνείθιζον, ὡς τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι μηδὲ ταράττεσθαι τάξεως διαλυθείσης, ἀλλὰ χρώμενοι πᾶσι πάντες ἐπιστάταις καὶ ζευγίταις, †ὅποι ποτὲ συνίστησιν ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ καταλαμβάνει† συναρμόττειν καὶ μάχεσθαι παραπλησίως (ὅπου ποτὲ καὶ σὺν οἷστισιν ὁ κίνδ. καταλαμβάνοι).

(*b*) Confusion of αι, ε and of αι, οι. Cobet, *V. L.*, p. 124; Van Leeuwen, *Codex Ravennas*, p. xiv. E.g. φέρω, confused with φαίνω, ἕτερος with ἑταῖρος (Ar. *Lys.* 1153), πέσωμεν with παίσωμεν (ib. *Thesm.* 947). ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ εἴποις for ὡσπεραναὶ παῖς (Plato, *Gorg.* 479 A), δὲ τὰ (δαῖτα) Athenaeus 460 B. The confusion between αι and ε is found also when the iota is subscript, e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 121 ἔσεται (ᾄσεται) and where the α in αι belongs to one word and the ι to the next, e.g. ἀλλ' ἐῶμεν for ἀλλὰ ἴωμεν Plato, *Symp.* 174 D, and Epicharmus 254 (Kaibel) where Ahrens reads σάφα ἴσαμι for σαφὲς ἅμι. For the confusion of ω and ο see p. 160.

For Latin instances v. Schuchhardt, *Vokalismus, passim*, and Hagen, p. 35.

[1] In Paris. 3056 a manuscript of Athenaeus, written by Hermolaus Barbarus, his own subscription (which could not possibly have been dictated) contains the error ἐγράφει for ἐγράφῃ, showing how natural such errors are in all ages.

(11) Substitution of Synonyms or of Familiar Words for Unfamiliar.

Many of these substituted words are glosses and will be considered later, s. v. Adscripts. There is a strong tendency to substitute words similar in form which are meaningless in the context.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 83 τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν †ἀοιδήν†. The best manuscripts have ἀοιδήν with ἐέρσην suprascript. ἐέρσην is now confirmed by the Achmîm papyrus.

Aristoph. *Thesm.* 53 κάμπτει δὲ νέας †ἀσπίδας† ἐπῶν (ἀψῖδας).

ib. 910 ἐγὼ δὲ Μενελάῳ σ' ὅσα γ' ἐκ τῶν †ἀφύων† (ἰφύων).

Plato, *Phileb.* 46 E ἀπορίαις (πυρίαις).

Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 3. 6 †καλέσας† δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφιππίους τοῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμόσι δός (κασᾶς 'saddles').

Theocrit. xv. 30 μὴ δὴ πολύ, †ἄπληστε,† ἔγχει ὕδωρ (λαιστρί, cf. Herondas vi. 10).

[Longinus,] περὶ ὕψους, iii. 4 ὀρεγόμενοι μὲν . . . τοῦ ἡδέος, ἐξοκέλλοντες δὲ εἰς †τὸ ῥοπικὸν (*sic* P) καὶ κακόζηλον (τὸ τροπικόν apographa: τὸ ῥωπικόν Vossius).

Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 22. 4 †καρδίαι†, νάρθηκές τε καὶ κιττοί (κράδαι).

Plaut. *Rud.* 580 ciccum non interdum (interduim).

Cic. *Div. in Q. Caec.* 49 quartum quem sit habiturus non uideo, nisi quem forte ex illo grege moratorum. (Here manuscripts give wrongly *meritorum* or *oratorum*).

Liv. xxvii. 20. 9 Tarentum captum astu magis. (P omits the word, the deteriores have *captum ingenio.*)

Cf. Boccaccio, *Dec. Fourth Day, Tenth novel,* the word *stratico* (στρατηγός), the proper title of an office in Salerno, has been replaced by *stadico,* which is here meaningless. Chaucer, *Wyf of Bathe,* 144, 'And let us wyves *hoten* (i. e. 'be called') barley breed.' The comparison of wives to barley bread is balanced by the comparison of virgins to wheaten bread. The vulgate reading is 'eaten', which makes nonsense. Id. *The Clerkes*

Tale, 616, 'And God they thank and *herie*' (i. e. 'praise'). Deteriores have, 'And God they thank *for he was hairy*.' *Book of Common Prayer*, 'Till death us *depart*.' 'Now altered to 'do part'. Bullen, *O. E. Plays*, 1. 32 (1882), 'shoulder *packt* Pelops.' Should be 'shoulder pacht,' i. e. patched, with reference to P.'s ivory shoulder. Gay, *Trivia*, iii. 203, 'Spongy *morsels* in strong ragousts are found.' (So some of the recent reprints: the true reading is *morells*, a species of mushroom.)

(12) New spellings and forms substituted for old.

Instances of this will be found in all manuscripts. Often the later forms are introduced in defiance of metre.

Ar. *Nub.* 728 R has ἐξευρητέος γὰρ νοῦς ἀποστερητικός (ἐξευρετέος): ib. 1409 ἐτύπτησας for ἔτυπτες. *Au.* 394 κατορυχθησόμεθα for κατορυχησόμεσθα. *Ach.* 865 προσέπταντο for προσέπτοντο.

This symptom is of importance for estimating the value of a manuscript, since modernization of spelling is one of the first signs of a wilfully corrupted tradition. In the best manuscripts, though modern spellings have crept in, there is always a large residue of ancient spellings. E. g. ἄσμενος in the Clarkianus of Plato, σώιζειν (*Ran.* 1517), θυείδιον (*Plut.* 710), ἐγκατακλινῆναι (*Au.* 122), συβήνη (*Thesm.* 1215), in V or R of Aristophanes.

(13) Interpolation.

Madvig, *Adv.* 1. 70 'palmam simplicitatis Latini scribae tenent rudiores quam Graeci'; Cobet, *de arte interpretandi*, p. 67; Roemer, *Arist. Rhetoric* (Teubner), p. xxvii.

By this is understood any conscious alteration of the text where the original words have become obliterated in whole or in part.[1]

It is difficult if not impossible to detect the interpolations of ancient scholars. The manuscript of Vergil used by Seneca

[1] Interpolare, 'to furbish up'; cf. Plaut. *Most.* 262 'noua pictura interpolare uis opus lepidissumum'. It is used by Cic. *In Verr.* 2 *Act.* i. 158 of 'tampering with records' and by the early scholars in the sense of 'to correct', e.g. Muretus, *Epp.* i. 9 'per me quidem non interpoles modo eam uerum etiam de integro cudas'.

apparently completed *Aen.* x. 284 'audentes Fortuna iuuat' by the ending 'piger ipse sibi obstat' (Sen. *Epp.* 94. 28). Had this interpolation invaded our tradition it could hardly have been detected.

The character of a later interpolation varies greatly according as it is made by an ignorant scribe or a scholar. Scribes always take the path of least resistance, and we must guard against attributing any deep learning or ingenuity to them. E. g. Pausan. iii. 16. 4: owing to some defect in the archetype the text is reduced to the letters Ἀθηναίων . . . . . ρω. The scribe of one manuscript alters this to Ἀθηναίων ἥρωι without regard to the context. In most manuscripts the scribes entirely suppress the traces of a lacuna; e. g. Paus. v. 1. 5 Ἡρακλεῶται δὲ ἐς Λάτμον τὸ ὄρος ἀποχωρῆσαί φασιν αὐτόν μουσι, καὶ ἄδυτον Ἐνδυμίωνός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ Λάτμῳ, where some manuscripts suppress μουσι, which is clearly the termination of the lost verb, others emend wildly to μουσικαί. In a manuscript of Plutarch (cod. Reg. Paris. 1671, thirteenth century) a scribe confesses to this practice of omission. τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ἀσαφέστατόν ἐστι διὰ τὸ πολλαχοῦ διαφθαρέντα τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν ἀντιγράφων μὴ δύνασθαι σώζειν τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ λόγου· καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ παλαιὰν βίβλον, ἐν ᾗ πολλαχοῦ διαλείμματα ἦν ὡς μὴ δυνηθέντος τοῦ γράφοντος εὑρεῖν τὰ λείποντα, ἐλπίσαντος δ' ἴσως εὑρήσειν ἀλλαχοῦ. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι κατὰ συνέχειαν ἐγράφη τὰ διαλείποντα τῷ μηκέτι ἐλπίδας εἶναι τὰ λείποντα εὑρεθήσεσθαι. Often the interpolation is caused by a desire for clearness, and is the result of the efforts of an inferior scholar: e. g. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 24 βίᾳ μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, where μετά has been added by some one who did not understand the construction of βίᾳ. Or a verb is supplied; e. g. Ov. *Heroid.* ii. 53 'Dis quoque credidimus. Quo iam tot pignora *nobis*?' where *nobis* has been altered to *prosunt*.

The more serious interpolation practised by the scholars of the Byzantine and Italian Renaissance has been discussed in ch. ii, pp. 43 sqq. and in ch. iv.

It is obviously very difficult in many cases to distinguish interpolations from some of the graphical errors which have been already described.

A few instances are here subjoined in which there is sufficient evidence to show the progress of the corruptions which have ended in interpolation.

Aristoph. *Eccl.* 569 ὥστε σέ τέ μοι μαρτυρεῖν (probably the right reading).

ὥστέ σε γέ μοι μ. R. 10th cent.
ὅστις γέ μοι μ. Γ. 14th cent.
ὅστις ἄν μοι μ. B. 16th cent.
ὥστ' ἔμοιγε μ. Aldine.

Xen. *Cyr.* v. 5. 23 τῶν γε ζώντων D : τῶν τε ζώντων C : τῶν πεζῶν τῶν AG.

Athen. 693 c ἐκπεπήδηκας πρὶν ἀγαθοῦ πρῶτον δαίμονος λαβεῖν.
ἐκπεπιήδεκας κτλ. Marcianus. 10th cent.
ἐκπίῃ δέπας κτλ. deteriores.

Aristot. *Poet.* 1461[a] 34 ὠδὶ ἢ ὡς A[c]: ὠδικῶς B[c] P[b]: ὠδί πως P[a] Aldine.

Ovid, *Trist.* i. 9. 52 where *Haec diuinaui* has passed through the corrupt *haec diu noui* to the interpolated *hecque diu noui* in the 13th cent. MS. D.

Plin. *Epp.* i. 20. 14 'Ego iugulum statim uideo, hunc premo'... Respondi posse fieri ut *genu esset aut talus*, ubi ille iugulum putaret.

genu esset aut talus MV. 9th cent.
genuisset aut talus B. 9th cent.
genuisset aut sibi aut aliis F. 9th cent.
genu esset aut tibia aut talus u. 15th cent.

Many of the developments in the corruption of proper names (*supra*, p. 181) are true interpolations. The scribe alters the text consciously as soon as he attempts to replace the corruption by articulate words.

Monkish interpolations. These are negligible in quantity. They do not proceed from malice prepense but are the natural result of minds preoccupied by religion.

For Greek instances see A. Ludwich, *Aristarchs Hom. Textkritik*, i. 96.

Aristot. *Poet.* 1455[a] 14 Ὀδυσσεῖ τῷ ψευδαγγέλῳ. The Arabic

version has 'euangelistae illius sancti' (? ὁσίῳ or ἱερῷ εὐαγγελιστῇ). This was pointed out to me by Mr. H. W. Garrod.

For Latin: Traube, *Vorlesungen*, ii. 67 sqq.; Postgate, *Tibullus*, p. 203; Havet, p. 265; Lindsay, p. 66.

Lucr. v. 692 *contudit* tempora serpens (concludit).

Hor. *Car.* iii. 18. 12 cum boue *pardus* (pagus). Velleius, ii. 114. 1 unigenitio (uni negotio). Petron. 43 *abbas* secreuit (ab asse creuit). Manilius, iv. 422 laudatique cadit post paulum gratia Christi (gratia ponti). *Amen* is commonly substituted for *agmen, amem, tamen*, e.g. Cic. *Phil.* xiii. § 6. *Angelus* for *angulus*, e.g. Sen. *Epp.* 31. 11.

Cf. Hebraisms, *supra*, p. 182.

II. Omissions.

(14) **Haplography**, i.e. a letter or syllable or word or words are written once instead of twice.

Madvig, *Adv.* i. 34; Lindsay, *Anc. Edd. of Plautus*, p. 109; Roemer, *Ar. Rhet.* (Teubner), p. xxv; Hagen, pp. 78–80; Van Leeuwen, *Codex Ravennas of Aristoph.*, p. xi; cf. p. xii, § 6.

This is generally due to the similar beginnings or endings of words in the same context (*homoeoteleuta* or *homoeocatarcta*). As however any group of letters, whatever their place in the word, might give rise to this error, Postgate has proposed *homoeographa* as a general term to describe them (*C. R.* 1902, p. 309).

Aristoph. *Plut.* 258. R has ὡς εἰκὸς ἀσθενεῖς γέροντας ἄνδρας ἤδη for γέροντας ⟨ὄντας⟩: V interpolates ὡς εἰκός ⟨ἐστιν⟩ ἀσθενεῖς κτλ.

Plat. *Phileb.* 41 A τὰς μὲν τοίνυν πονηρὰς ἡδονὰς . . . ὀλίγον †ὕστεροῦμεν† (ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν).

Eur. *Hel.* 561 Με. Ἑλληνὶς εἴ τις ἡ 'πιχωρία γυνή;
Ἑλ. Ἑλληνίς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σὸν θέλω μαθεῖν.
The first line is omitted in manuscripts of Euripides. It has been restored from the parody in Ar. *Thesm.* 907.

Xen. *Cyr.* ii. 2. 22 πόνων . . . βουλόμενον ⟨μεῖον⟩ ἔχειν, where manuscripts either omit μεῖον or interpolate αὐτόν.

Dio Chrys. *Or.* i, p. 635 φέρε τοίνυν συμβάλετε τοῦτο τὸ ἔθος ἐκείνῳ τῷ νόμῳ, κἂν μὲν †ὑμῖν κατά τι† φαίνηται, φυλάξετε αὐτὸ . . . ἐὰν δὲ πανταχῇ σκοπούμενοι χεῖρον εὑρίσκητε . . . λύσατε. Read κἂν μὲν ὑμῖν ⟨ἄμεινον⟩ κατά τι. The mistake has arisen from the contraction ὑμῖν, or possibly ὑμεῖν, ἄμειν.

Athenaeus, p. 360 δὸς ὦναξ δός (δὸς ὦν, ἄναξ, δός): ib. p. 528 ἁπλοῦς (ἀπαλούς). Strabo xiv. 41, p. 648 ἔτι μάλιστα (ἐτίμα μάλιστα).

Plaut. *M. G.* 727–9 Sicut merci pretium statuit [qui est probus agoranomus:

quae probast (mers, pretium ei statuit,] pro uirtute ut ueneat,

quae inprobast,) pro mercis uitio dominum pretio pauperet.

Here the words in round brackets are omitted by the Ambrosian where the scribe's eye was caught by *statuit.* Those in square brackets are omitted by the Palatine group in whose archetype the scribe was mislead by *probast.*

Cic. *pro Sulla,* 55 at praefuit familiae *Cornelius* (Cornelius l. eius, i. e. libertus eius, A. C. Clark).

Cic. *in Pis.* 87 uectigalem prouinciam (p. r. *i. e.* populi Romani prouinciam).

Ovid, *Epp. ex Ponto,* i. 4. 36 quae tulit esoniden sa carina fuit (Hamburgensis, 9th cent.): saccarina γ (12th cent.): sacra carina β (12th cent.): firma carina *vulg.* (densa carina).

Quint. Curt. iv. 3. 26 ubi loricam *corpusque* . . . penetrauerat (corpus usque).

Seneca, *N. Q.* i. 3. 12 pars coloris sole est sparsa nube (sparsa, pars nube).

Cf. Selden, *Table Talk* (Reynolds), p. 61, s.v. Equity 2: '. . . as if they should make the standard for the measure we call ⟨a foot⟩ a chancellor's foot. What an uncertain measure this would be! One chancellor has a long foot,' &c.

(15) Lipography (parablepsia) or simple omission of any kind.

Madvig, *Adv.* i, pp. 40, sqq.; Schubart, p. 35; Marquardt, *Galen* (Teubner), i, p. xxix; Bywater, p. 16.

This is a form of error recognized by Galen, περὶ δυσπνοίας

(Kühn, vii, p. 892), ἐφυλάχθη τε εἰκότως μέχρι δεῦρο τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸ σφάλμα (i. e. the omission of one class of πνεῦμα in Hippocrates' account), τινῶν μὲν ὀλιγώρως ὁμιλούντων τοῖς τῶν παλαιῶν βιβλίοις, ὡς μήτ' εἰ λείπει τι μήτ' εἰ δι' ἑτέρου γράμματος εἴρηται γνωρίζειν, ἐνίων δὲ γνωριζόντων μὲν ἀλλὰ προσθεῖναι οὐ τολμώντων.

Generally the omissions are slight, small words or groups of words, initial letters or letters in the body of a word. The following are taken from Bywater (l. c.):

Omission of οὐ *Eth. Nic.* 1121ª 25, μή 1120ª 16, 32, ἄν 1170ᵇ 24. τὸ πῶς (for ἀτόπως) 1136ª 12, ἀφιστᾶναι (for ἀφίστανται) 1112ᵇ 25.

Galen, περὶ ψυχ. ἁμαρτ. 99 ἤκουσα πρῴην ἀφιστούντοιν (ἀπιστούντοιν *vulg.*) δυοῖν φιλοσόφοιν (ἀμφισβητούντοιν).

Clemens Alex. *Paedagog.* ii. 110. 2 εἰ δὲ καὶ ὑφεῖναι χρὴ †τοῦτον† διὰ τὰς γυναῖκας (τοῦ τόνου).

In Latin the omission of single letters is exceedingly common in any text copied from the continuous hands, e. g. uncials:

Liv. v. 39. 11 nec ante deseri cultum *eorum* quam non superessent qui colerent (deorum); vi. 11. 8 non contentus agrariis legibus, quae materia semper . . . seditionum fuisset *idem* moliri coepit (fidem); xxii. 17. 6 tum uero insidias rati esse cum maiore *multo* concitant se in fugam (maiore tumultu).

Catull. 10. 33 sed *tulsa* O (14th cent.) *for* sed tu insulsa.

III. Additions.

(16) Repetitions from the immediate or neighbouring context.

(*a*) *Dittography, i. e. immediate repetition or anticipation of any kind.*

Madvig, *Adv.* i. 34 sqq.; Schubart, p. 28; Hagen, pp. 80–2; Shipley, p. 23.

Lysias xix. 6 μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτ' ἔχοι ἄν τις †δεινότατον† ὅταν πολλοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ αἰτίᾳ εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστῶσιν (ἔχοι ἄν τις ἰδεῖν, ὅταν). Cf. id. xiv. 29 ὃν μᾶλλον (ἀλλ' ὅν).

Athen. 694 D γελασείας, ὦ Πάν, ἐπ' ἐμαῖς
†εὐφροσύναις ταῖσδ' ἀοιδαῖσαοιδε† κεχαρημένος.
(εὔφροσι ταῖσδ' ἀοιδαῖς κεχ.)

Paus. iii. 10. 2 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἰτωλίαν †ἀφικουρήσων† ἀφίκετο (ἐπικουρήσων).

Liv. iv. 44. 12 eam ampliatam pontifex maximus abstinere iocis iussit. Here M has *eam am ampliatam . . .*: P *ampliatam*: but the rest interpolate *famam ampliatam.*

id. xxi. 29. 5 ex consiliis coeptisque *hospitis* (hostis).

id. xlii. 17. 8 iussueiussuromam, so Vind. lat. 15 *for* iussu eius Romam.

Sen. *Epp.* 89. 13 Ariston *Stoicus* non tantum superuacuas esse dixit sed etiam contrarias (Ariston Chius, the mistake has passed through some such stage as *Ariston Stonchius*).

Suet. *de uir. ill.*, p. 32. 13 Reiff. Quintus Cosconius redeuntem e Graecia periisse in mari dicit cum C et VIII fabulis conuersis a Menandro. (Omit cviii, which is a dittography of CVM.)

(*b*) *Repetition from the preceding or following context. Sometimes the word repeated displaces another from the text.*

Vahlen, *Opusc.* i. 348 sqq.; Bywater, pp. 18–19; Wessely, *Cod. Vindob. of Livy*, p. xviii; Friedrich, *Catullus*, p. 198; Richards, *Xenophon and Others*, pp. 307 sqq.

The smaller the repetition the more likely it is that the scribe's eye has travelled forwards: the longer repetitions arise from the eye travelling backwards.

In the following instances the word or words wrongly repeated are enclosed in brackets:

Aristoph. *Aues*, 936–7 *τόδε μὲν οὐκ ἀέκουσα φίλα*
Μοῦσα [τόδε] δῶρον δέχεται.

Xen. *Cyr.* vii. 5. 74 *εἰ μὲν τρεψόμεθα ἐπὶ ῥᾳδιουργίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδυπάθειαν, οἳ νομίζουσι τὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν [ἡδυπάθειαν]*. Some noun such as *εὐδαιμονίαν* has been extruded.

Lysias, xxxi. 24 *περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον βουλεύειν ἀξιούτω φανερόν τι ἀγαθὸν ὥσπερ τότε [ἀγαθὸν] ποιήσας (κακόν)*.

[Longinus] *περὶ ὕψ.* 44. 8 *ἡνίκα τὰ θνητὰ ἑαυτῶν μέρη [καπάνητα] ἐκθαυμάζοιεν. καπάνητα* is a repetition of the preceding syllables *(ἡνί)κα τὰ θνητά.*

Plautus, *Rudens*, 968–9:

Gr. hunc homo feret a me nemo, ne tu te speres potis.

Tr. non ferat si dominus ueniat? Gr. dominus huic [nemo] ne frustra sis.

Catull. 76. 23 non iam illud quaero contra [me] ut me diligat illa.

Tac. *Ann.* iv. 37 per omnes [per] prouincias.

Caution is needed before assuming that a repeated word is necessarily corrupt, e. g. [Tibullus,] iv. 4. 5–6 'effice ne macies *pallentes* occupet artus, Neu notet informis *pallida* membra color'. Here the vulgate *candida membra* is probably an interpolation from iv. 3. 10. Cf. Vahlen, l. c., and also the remarks on the style of Livy, ib. pp. 25 sqq. Particular caution is needed with writers who are more concerned with matter than with style, e. g. Aristotle. (v. Bywater, *Poetics* 1453ª 31, note.)

Cf. Bossuet, *Traité de la concupiscence*, 'On en voit qui passent leur vie . . . à rendre *agréables* des choses non seulement inutiles, mais encore dangereuses, comme à chanter un amour feint ou [*agréable*].' The last word should be *véritable*. Wordsworth, *Chaucer's Troilus* 118, 'With a soft [night] voice he of his lady dear.' Here the intrusive word *night* probably anticipates 'night by night' in l. 122. Alexander, Earl of Sterline, *To Aurora*, 'Then all my thoughts should in *my* visage shine' (thy).

E. Brontë, *Poetical Works* (ed. Shorter), vol. i:

> Some were dazzling like the sun,
> Some shining down at summer noon,
> Some were sweet as amber even.

Here *some* in the second line should be omitted.

Other instances are noted by H. P. Richards, *Xenophon and Others*, p. 309.

(17) Insertions from the Margin.

Such as (*a*) *Titles, Numbers, Running Analyses, Remarks of readers,* (*b*) *Variant readings, Glosses, and Explanations of the construction.*

For the last three the wider term *Adscript* is often used.

Cobet, *V. L.*, pp. xxix, 480; E. Maas, *Mélanges Graux*, p. 756; Bywater, *Poetics* 1450ᵇ 16, note on numbers intruded where a list is under discussion.

Galen, *ὑπόμν. β' εἰς ἐπιδ.* ς' Kühn xvii. 1, p. 909 *φαίνεται μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐξηγήσει προσγραφὲν ὑπό τινος, αὖθις δὲ εἰς τοὔδαφος* (the text) *ὑπὸ τοῦ βιβλιογράφου μετατεθεῖσθαι.* Simplicius *in Cat.* Kalbfleisch, p. 88. 24 *οὐδὲν γὰρ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐκ περιττοῦ τοῖς λόγοις προστίθησιν, ἀλλ' ἴσως ἔξω παραγεγραμμένης τῆς ἄλλης γραφῆς οἱ γράφοντες τὰ δύο εἰς τὸ ἐδάφιον ἐνέγραψαν.* The scribe of Marcianus A of Photius (*Bibliotheca*) $336^{b}2$ notes: *ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ ἦν τοῦ πρωτοτύπου βιβλίου· ὁ δὲ μεταγράψας καὶ τοῦτο ἐντὸς τέθεικε.*

(*a*) Lysias, xxiv. 3 *καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν τὰ τοῦ σώματος δυστυχήματα τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἰᾶσθαι* [*καλῶς*]. *καλῶς* being a note of approval.

Plat. *de rep.* 504 E *καὶ μάλα ἔφη* [*ἄξιον τὸ διανόημα*].

Alciphron, *Epp.* 3. 7 *οἷα γὰρ οἱ*[*α πάσχει τὰ δίκαια*] *λακκόπλουτοι εἰργάσαντό με . . . πλείονα ἢ κατὰ τὸ κύτος τῆς γαστρὸς ἐσθίειν ἀναγκάζοντες.* Cf. Soph. *O. T.* 896 with Jebb's cr. note.

Cic. *de off.* iii. 31. 112. Here a long historical note has found its way into the text.

Propert. iv. 8. 3. Neapolitanus 268 has [non potuit legi] uetus est tutela draconis, a note stating that some words had been omitted because they could not be read.

Varro, *R. R.* iii. 7. § 1 de quibus Me[de columbis]rula Axio.

Liv. iii. 41. 1 ferociores iterum coorti Valerius [Valerius Horatiusque contra sententiam Maluginensis] Horatiusque uociferari. In the last two instances marginal analyses have become incorporated with the text.

Pomponius Mela 3. 6 Omnium uirtutum ignari (i. e. the Irish) magis quam aliae gentes [aliquatenus tamen gnari]. Perhaps the protest of some Irish scribe or reader.

The casual jottings of readers and correctors are often imported into the text. Among such may be noted: *ζτ.*, i. e. *ζήτει* (Aesch. *Choeph.* 351, 530); *ὡραῖον* (cf. Vahlen on the *περὶ ὕψους*, p. viii); perhaps the curious *ἡμῖν* so often found in the Urbinas of Isocrates is a relic of some marginal remark. In Latin the most frequent are: *huc usque* (Hertz, *Aul. Gell.*, p. lvii), *de*(*est*) *hic* (perhaps the explanation of the corrupt *de his* in *pro Caecina* 95),

quaere, require, mire, optime. Cf. Lindsay, *Text. Criticism of Plautus*, p. 60; Traube, *Vorlesungen*, ii. 68.

Sometimes the comments (often quite pertinent) of readers or teachers have invaded the text of philosophical and other argumentative works. Cf. Marquardt, *Galen*, i, p. lv.

Cf. Selden, *Table Talk* (Reynolds), p. 35. The book is arranged alphabetically under headings. Under the heading 'Changing sides', after a story about Luther refusing the Pope's overtures, since he had become greater than the Pope could make him, the text proceeds, 'So have our preachers done that are against the bishops, they have made themselves greater with the people than they can be made the other way and therefore there is the *less Charity probably* of bringing them off.' (Here 'Charity' is the heading of the following section and has been intruded into the text. Most edd. read with Singer *less probability*.)

(*b*) *Adscripts.*

The practice of noting variant readings needs no illustration. In Greek they are usually introduced by the sign γρ., i. e. γράφεται: in Latin by *vel* or *al.*, i. e. *aliter* or *alius codex.*

Glosses. Γλῶσσα means originally an obscure word, but the term is generally used in the sense of the explanation of such a word. Thus Varro, *de ling. lat.* vii. 107, in speaking of a word *persibus*, which he thinks is derived from *perite*, says, 'sub hoc glossema "callide" subscribunt.'

Such explanations are usually written over a word (interlinear) or in the margin. They presuppose some measure of scholarship (often very small) and are not due to the ordinary copyist. Three points should be remembered before it is assumed that a gloss has disturbed the original text. (1) The word glossed must not be an ordinary word, but one that presents certain difficulties. (2) Such a word must be glossed by a word easier than itself: φθιτοί could not be a gloss upon νεκροί. (3) The gloss must be in the same construction as the word which it explains.

Lysias, *Fr.* viii. 1 οὔτε τιμῆς τεταγμένης πωλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν δύναιντο πλειστηριάσαντες [πλείστου ἀπέδοντο].

Isaeus, viii. 42. 4 φελλέα δὲ [χωρία ἄττα] ἐκείνῳ δέδωκε. Cf. p. 164.

Plat. *de rep.* 364 E πείθοντες . . . ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσιῶν καὶ παιδιᾶς [ἡδονῶν] εἰσι.

Dem. *Ol.* ii. § 20 αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι [καὶ συσκιάσαι] τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνείδη. This passage proves the antiquity of such glosses. συσκιάσαι is suggested by the word ἐπισκοτεῖ which occurs in the preceding sentence. It is omitted in Σ, but was in the text used by the rhetor Theon in the time of Hadrian, and is recognized by Stobaeus and the author of the *pastiche* πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ Φιλίππου which was regarded as genuine by the Alexandrines (v. Weil *ad loc.*).

Dem. *Conon*, § 26 πρὸς τὸν †βωμὸν† ἄγοντες καὶ ἐξορκίζοντες. (πρὸς τὸν λίθον is known to be the right reading from Harpocration.)

Galen, v. 19. 8 (Kühn) ὡς δὲ [πλεῖστον] ἄμετρον αἷμα χεόμενον ἐθεάσατο.

Cic. *in Verr.* II *Act.* 2. 61 iste amplam nactus VO: iste amplam occasionem nactus, *qrk* (13th–15th cent.): iste amplam occasionem calumniae nactus *bδ* (15th–16th cent.). Here the gloss to the rare word *ampla* enters the text and leads to an interpolation.

Liv. iii. 2. 1 statiua habuit [castra].

ib. ix. 16. 8 eadem nocte portam aperuerunt armatosque clam [nocte] in urbem acceperunt.

ib. x. 43. 13 eo ipso loco *tepropemere* sub armis strati, i. e. *propere* in the archetype was a gloss on *temere*.

(*c*) *Marginal or interlinear notes explaining the construction.*

Aristoph. *Au.* 1080 εἶτα φυσῶν τὰς κίχλας δείκνυσι [πᾶσι] καὶ λυμαίνεται.

Liv. iv. 21. 6 pestilentior annus tantum [metum] uastitatis in urbe agrisque fecit.

Cf. Chaucer, *The Parlement of Foules*, 353, 'The swalow, mordrer of the *flyës* smale.' Manuscripts have *foules* or

foulis (i. e. fowls), an obvious adscript: the edition of 1561 has *beës smale*. Dante, *Conv.* iv. 15, the word 'etera' (aether) has been displaced by the gloss 'corpo sottile e diafano'. This is an absolutely certain correction since the passage is a translation of Ovid, *Met.* i. 78–83.

(18) Conflated Readings.

Madvig, *Emend. Liv.*, p. 15; Schubart, pp. 52 sqq.; Heraeus, p. 56; Bywater, p. 19.

This error results from the practice of recording variants over a word in the text or in the margin (v. *supra*, p. 195). The scribe who copies a text containing these variants tends to combine them into one word.

Plat. *de rep.* 353 A 9 ὃ ἄρτι ἠρώτων ADM: ὃ ἄρτι ἠρώτων πρῶτον Angelicus: ὃ ἄρτι πρῶτον F, ἠρώτων added in the margin by a later hand.

Aristot. *Poet.* 1449ᵃ 8 κρίνεται ἢ ναί, i e. κρίνεσθαι meaning that there was a variant κρῖναι, cf. ib. 11 where φαϋλλικά in Aᶜ is a combination of φαῦλα and φαλλικά.

Plutarch, *Mor.* 217 F Ἀρηγεύς. The name required is Ἀρεύς the Lacedaemonian form of Ἄρης. Ἀρηγεύς is a conflation of the two forms.

Pausanias, vi. 23 ἔστι δὲ . . . καὶ ἐν τῶν παλαιστρῶν μιᾷ τύπος Ἔρωτα ἔχων. Some codd. have καὶ ταινίων παλαιστρῶν, i. e. ἐν τῶν has been misread as ἐνίων: this has been corrected to ἐνῖων: the τ has been misplaced and the word read as τενίων.

Verbs compounded with two prepositions are often open to the suspicion that they are the result of conflation: e. g. συνεφίστημι.

Plaut. *Most.* 464 the *editio princeps* reads 'di te deaeque omnes *perduaxint* cum istoc omine'. The conflation arose from the confusion of the two readings *perduint* and *faxint*. Cf. *Rudens*, 1126.

Liv. ii. 56. 2 eum uexandis prioris anni consulibus *permissurum administraturum* tribunatum credebant (cod. Med.). Here *administraturum* is a variant. The deteriores resort

to interpolation to heal the passage and read *administraturum permissum* tribunatum.

Sen. *Ag.* 507 ars cessit malis E: in magnis malis A: ars in magnis malis N.

ib. *H. O.* 636 donet A: ponit E: podonet N.

(19) **Additions made to a text through the influence of kindred writings or of other portions of the author's work.**

Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*[2], p. 33, note 3; Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* I. 144; S. G. Owen, *Ovid, Tristia*, pp. lxvii–lxviii.

This is a species of interpolation.

Plaut. *Most.* 655 malum quod isti di deaeque omnes duint, has been inserted in Ter. *Phorm.* 976.

ib. *Capt.* 800 faciam ut huius diei locique meique semper meminerint, has been inserted in Ter. *Eun.* 801.

Ovid, *Tristia*, ii. 364 a distich is interpolated from Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 33. 71.

Germanicus, *Aratea*, 147 At capiti suberunt gemini prolemque tonantis, has been interpolated in the second class of manuscripts from Avienus 370.

[The main authorities are:

Bywater, I. *Contributions to the Textual Criticism of Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics.* Oxford, 1892.

Cobet, C. G. *Variae Lectiones*[2]. Leyden, 1873. *Novae Lectiones*, 1858. *Miscellanea Critica*, 1876. *Collectanea Critica*, 1878.

Hagen, H. *Gradus ad Criticen.* Leipzig, 1879.

Havet, L. *Manuel de Critique verbale appliquée aux textes latins*, 1911.

Lindsay, W. M. *Latin Textual emendation*, 1896.

Madvig, J. N. *Adversaria Critica*, 1871–3.

Schubart, J. H. C. *Bruchstücke zu einer Methodologie der diplomatischen Kritik.* Cassel, 1855.

Shipley, F. W. *Certain sources of corruption in Latin Manuscripts.* New York, 1904.

Vahlen, J. *Opuscula Academica*, 1907–8.

Vollgraff, J. C. *Studia Palaeographica.* Leyden, 1870.

Other works referred to are quoted by the full title.]

CHAPTER VIII

MS. AUTHORITIES FOR THE TEXT OF THE CHIEF CLASSICAL WRITERS

AESCHINES (389–314 B.C.).

Speeches: (1) Κατὰ Τιμάρχου. (2) Περὶ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας. (3) Κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος. (4) Nine letters.

MSS. numerous and late. The text is corrupt but the corruptions are earlier than the Byzantine age, since many occur in early Egyptian fragments, e.g. *Or.* 3. § 181 Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁ δίκαιος [ἐπικαλούμενος].

In *Or.* 2 and 3 the best MSS. are **e**=Marcianus App. class. 8 cod. 4, 15th cent. **k**=Par. 2998, 13/14th cent. **l**=Par. 3002, 16th cent. **ek** do not contain *Or.* 1, and in **l** it is derived from a late source. In *Or.* 1 the best is **f**=Par. Coislinianus 249, ? 13th cent. No MS. of the letters is older than 14th cent.

Ed. pr. in Aldus, *Orationes Rhet. Graec.* 1513.

Index[1]: Preuss, Leipzig, 1896; also in Blass, ed. mai. Teubner.

AESCHYLUS (525–456 B.C.).

Seven tragedies, preserved in the following order in **M**: Πέρσαι (472), Ἀγαμέμνων (458), Χοηφόροι (458), Προμηθεύς (before 466), Εὐμενίδες (458), Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας (467), Ἱκέτιδες (after 461).

The chief authority is **M**=Mediceus siue Laurentianus 32. 9, 11th cent. (=**L** in Sophocles), facsimile by *E. Rostagno* 1896. It has three lacunae, viz. in *Agam.* 311–1066, 1160–1673 (where the loss is supplied by later MSS. especially **Fl.**=Florentinus 31. 8 a paper MS. of 14th cent.), and in the prologue to *Choeph.*, where the loss cannot be repaired since the only other MS. (viz. the Guelferbytanus) which contains the play is a copy of **M**, made in the 15th cent. It has been held that all later MSS. are descended from **M** but (1) *Septem* 195 is found in the late MSS. and is absent in **M**, and (2) the late MSS. preserve many good readings which are corrupted in **M**. It is a question, however, whether such good readings are traditional or merely felicitous

[1] Modern indexes are quoted where they are known to exist. The Delphin indexes, which are quoted by the first edition, have often been reprinted. The most convenient reprint is that of A. J. Valpy, London, 1819–1830.

conjectures of the scholars of the Renaissance; e.g. in *Ag.* 297, **M** has παιδίον ὠποῦ. The late MSS. have πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ which possibly has been conjectured from *Pers.* 805.

The text of Demetrius Triclinius is preserved in **Fa**=Farnesianus I. E. 5 of the 14th cent.

Scholia. The oldest stratum goes back to Didymus. Recent scholia by Tzetzes and others in Parisini 2785, 2787.

Ed. pr.: Aldus 1518, where, owing to the lacunae, the *Agam.* and *Choeph.* are printed as one play.

Index: Beatson, Cambridge, 1830; W. Dindorf, *Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1873–1876.

Aetna, s.v. Vergilius.

AGRIMENSORES (under Domitian and later).

Works on surveying and kindred subjects by Frontinus—Hyginus—Agennius Urbicus—Balbus—Siculus Flaccus—Nipsus.

Three classes of MSS. are recognized: (1) the best, Arcerianus-Guelferbytanus 2403, 6/7th cent. (s. v. P. F. Girard, 'Le manuscrit des Gromatici de Jean du Tillet' in *Mélanges Filling*). (2) Gudianus 105, 9/10th cent.; Vaticanus Palatinus 1564, 9/10th cent. (3) Erfurtensis-Amplonianus 362, 11th cent. The excerpta Rostochiensia present a separate tradition. The problem of the text has been reopened by C. Thulin, *Die Handschriften des Corpus Ag. Rom.*, Berlin, 1911.

First complete edition: Paris, 1554.

ALCIPHRON (probably contemporary with Lucian).

Imaginary letters, 118 survive entire, 6 in fragments. These are now arranged in four books. MSS. are derived from the same archetype. None are complete. (1) The best MS. is **B**=Vindob. gr. 342, 12/13th cent., which contains the four books almost complete. (2) MSS. with bk. 4 missing: **X**=with order 3, 2, 1: Harleianus, 5566, 14th cent., and Venetus Marc. class. viii, no. 2, 14/15th cent. $\mathbf{X}^1$=with order 1, 2, 3: Γ=Par. 1696, 13/15th cent., and others. (3) Φ=Par. 3054, 15th cent., and **N**=Par. Suppl. 352, 13th cent., have four books incomplete in the order 1, 3, 2, 4.

Ed. pr.: Aldus in *Collectio Epist. Gr.* 1499, containing first two books: bk. 3 in Steph. Bergler, 1715: new letters and fragments were published by J. A. Wagner, 1798, E. E. Seiler, 1853.

Index in M. A. Schepers' ed. 1905.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (wrote circ. A.D. 390).

Rerum gestarum libri, originally in 31 books of which 14–31 survive, describing the events of the years A.D. 353–378.

The only factors of importance in the constitution of the text are **V**=Vaticanus lat. 1873 written at Fulda 9th cent. and brought by Poggio to Italy circ. 1417, and **M**, a Hersfeld codex, 9/10th cent., of which only six leaves survive, preserved at Marburg.

Ed. pr.: by Angelus Sabinus, Rome, 1474. Text based on Vatic. Reginensis 1994. Glossary in A. W. Ernesti's ed. 1772.

ANACREON of Teios (age of Polycrates d. 522 B.C.).

Only fragments survive preserved in such writers as Hephaestion, Athenaeus, Stobaeus.

The *Anacreontea* are a collection of about 60 poems in the style of Anacreon, made at a much later date. They are preserved in an appendix to the Anthology of Constantinus Cephalas.

Ed. pr.: H. Stephanus, Paris, 1554.

Index in Bergk's ed., Leipzig, 1834; *Anacreontea*, L. Weber, Göttingen, 1895; C. Preisendanz, Leipzig, 1912.

ANDOCIDES (born a little before 440 B. C.).

Orations: (1) Περὶ τῶν Μυστηρίων. (2) Περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ Καθόδου. (3) Περὶ τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους Εἰρήνης. (4) Κατὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου. The last is certainly spurious.

Q=Ambrosianus D 42, 14th cent. Remaining codd. are the same as in Antiphon with the exception of **N**.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, *Orationes Rhet. Graec.* 1513.

Index: Forman, Oxford, 1897.

ANTHOLOGIA GRAECA, various collections of *Epigrams*.

(1) *Anthologia Planudea* in 7 bks., a collection made by a monk Planudes in 14th cent. His autograph MS. survives in cod. Marcianus 481.

Ed. pr.: I. Lascaris, Florence, 1494.

(2) *Anthologia Palatina* in 15 bks., bks. 1–12 preserved in Palatinus 23, 11th cent. (at Heidelberg), the second half of which containing 13–15 is at Paris=suppl. nr. 384 (v. s.v. Palatinus in Index). This collection was made by Constantinus Cephalas (circ. A.D. 917) and consists of 15 bks. In it are incorporated

previous anthologies by Meleager, Philippos, and Agathias. The codex was first used by Salmasius in 1607, but its contents were not printed as a whole till Brunck's *Analecta*, Strassburg, 1776.

Index in F. Jacobs' ed. 1814, vol. xiii.

ANTHOLOGIA LATINA. A collection of short poems made in the first half of the 6th cent. A.D. in the Vandal kingdom of Africa.

It is difficult to determine the original compass of the work since such collections were subject to expansion or contraction at the hands of subsequent copyists. Baehrens' view (*Poetae Lat. Min.*, vol. iv) that it was in two volumes, the first containing the older writers, the second the later, is not now generally held. The most important MSS. are: **A**=Salmasianus, given to Salmasius by Jean Lacurne about 1609, now Paris. 10318, an uncial MS. of the 7th cent. which has lost the first eleven quaternions. This MS. seems to give the collection in its truest form, but it is impossible to ascertain what poems the lost quaternions contained. A number of copies of this MS. made in the 17th cent. are still in existence (e.g. one by Isaac Vossius). The second best MS., **S**=Bellovacensis, is now lost and its character is only known from an edition of Epigrams published by Binetus in 1579. It contained a number of poems by Petronius which are absent in **A**. Other important MSS. are **B**=Thuaneus siue Paris. 8071, 9th cent., which contains 73 of the Salmasian poems, one by Catullus (62) and some by Martial. **L**=Lipsiensis Rep. I. 74, 9/10th cent. **V**=Vossianus L. Q. 86, 9th cent. Minor excerpts are often appended to the MSS. of the greater poets, e.g. in **E**=Vossianus L. F. III, 9th cent., a MS. of Ausonius.

The collection probably came into Europe through Spain, which was closely connected with the Vandal kingdom. The most famous poem which it contains is the *Peruigilium Veneris*.

ANTIPHON (d. 411 B.C.).

(1) Κατηγορία φαρμακείας Κατὰ τῆς Μητρυιᾶς. (2), (3), (4) Τετραλογίαι. (5) Περὶ τοῦ Ἡρῴδου φόνου. (6) Περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ.

The two chief MSS. are **A**=Crippsianus (v. s.v. Isaeus) and **N**=Bodleianus Misc. 208, 14th cent. These are of equal value and descend from a common archetype. **B**=Laurentianus plut.

4. 11, 15th cent., the parent of many later MSS., is probably a copy of **A**.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, *Orationes Rhet. Graec.* 1513.

Index: Van Cleef, Ithaca, New York, 1895.

ANTONINUS, s.v. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS.

APOLLONIUS RHODIUS (circ. 295–215 B.C.).

Epic, Ἀργοναυτικά in 4 bks.

Two editions were published by Apollonius. The surviving MSS. preserve the second and nothing is known of the first except for a few quotations in the Scholia. MSS. in two classes headed by (1) **L**=Laurentianus 32. 9, 11th cent., containing also the plays of Aeschylus (**M**) and Sophocles (**L**). (2) **G**=Guelferbytanus, 13th cent., and **L** 16=Laurentianus 32. 16, 13th cent. These preserve a distinct tradition and their text agrees with the quotations given in the *Etymologicon Magnum*. The archetype must therefore be as old as the 4th or 5th cent. Papyrus fragments of bk. 1 in Amherst ii. 16, and of bks. 3 and 4 (2nd/3rd cent. A.D.) in Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Pap.* iv. 690–2. Scholia by Lucillus, Sophocles, and Theon, commentators of the age of Tiberius.

Ed. pr.: I. Lascaris, Florence, 1496.

Index in Wellauer's ed., Leipzig, 1828.

APPIAN (circ. A.D. 160).

Ῥωμαϊκά originally in 24 bks., though probably not completed. The surviving portions are bk. 6 (Ἰβηρική), 7 (Ἀννιβαϊκή), 8 (Λιβυκή), 11 (Συριακή), 12 (Μιθριδάτειος), 9 (Ἰλλυρική: forming the second half of the book), 13–17 (Ἐμφύλια). There are fragments of the first half of 9 (Macedonia) and the Prooemium to 4 (Κελτική). The Παρθική appended in the MSS. to the Συριακή is, as shown by Xylander and Perizonius, a Byzantine forgery based upon Plutarch.

The excerpts in the surviving MSS. have been made on different principles, according as whole books or isolated passages from a large number of books have been selected.

V=Vat. gr. 141, 11th cent., is the only trustworthy authority for Hisp., Hann., Pun. It contains also Prooem. and Celt. in a different and later (12th cent.) handwriting. Prooem., Illyr., Syr., Mith., Bell. Ciu. are contained in a group of related MSS. known

as **O**, for which the best members are **B**=Ven. Marc. 387, 15th cent., **V**=Vat. gr. 134., 14/15th cent. There is an inferior class known as *i*, whose evidence is sometimes of value. In the middle of the 15th cent. the greater part of the surviving text was translated into Latin by Piero Candido Decembrio who used a MS. similar to those of the **O**-group. There are numerous manuscripts of passages excerpted from the different books.

Ed. pr.: C. Stephanus, Paris, 1551; Latin translation, 1472.

Lucius **APULEIUS** of Madaura (Africa) (fl. circ. A.D. 155).

(1) *Metamorphoseon libri XI.* (2) *Apologia.* (3) *Florida* (4 bks.). (4) *de Platone et eius dogmate* (3 bks., the 3rd probably spurious). (5) *de deo Socratis.* (6) *de mundo.* [The περὶ ἑρμηνείας is spurious.]

MSS. in two groups. (1) Containing *Met.*, *Apol.*, and *Flor.*, in which all are descended from **F**=Laur. 68. 2, 11th cent. (containing also Tac. *Ann.* xi–xvi and the *Histories*). It has the subscriptio after bk. ix of *Met.* 'Ego Sallustius legi et emendaui Rome felix. Olibio et Probino u. c. cons. (i.e. A.D. 395) in foro Martis controuersiam declamans oratori Endelechio. Rursus Constantinopoli recognoui Caesario et Attico coss. (A.D. 397).' **φ**= Laur. 29. 2, the earliest copy of **F**, is often of use in passages where **F** has since been altered or injured. (2) The second group contains *de d. Socratis*, *Asclepius* (spurious), *de Platone*, and *de mundo.* Their archetype, which is lost, has to be reconstructed from (*a*) the best class, such as **M**=Monacensis 621, 12th cent., **B** = Bruxellensis 10054/6, 11th cent., and others, and from (*b*) the worse, such as **P** = Parisinus 6634, 12th cent.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469. Index in Delphin ed. (J. Floridus) 1688.

ARATUS (circ. 310–245 B.C.).

Φαινόμενα καὶ Διοσημεῖα in 1154 hexameters.

Best preserved in **M** = Marcianus 476, 11th cent., containing critical signs, perhaps by Theon, a mathematician of 4th cent. A.D. *Scholia* by Theon. There are numerous commentaries, the earliest is by Hipparchus the astronomer (circ. 130 B.C.), the latest by Leontius of the 7th cent. Translations by Cicero, Germanicus, Avienus.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1499 (in *Astronom. uett.*).

Index in Maass' ed., Berlin, 1893.

ARISTOPHANES (circ. 450–385 B.C.). Eleven comedies.

MSS:—**F**=Fragmentum Fayoumense, 6th cent., contains *Au.* 1057–85, 1101–27. On vellum. **R**=Ravennas 137. 4 a, 10th cent. Scholia. **V**=Venetus Marcianus 474, 12th cent. Scholia. **A**=Parisinus 2712, 13th cent. = cod. A in Sophocles and Euripides. Scholia to *Nub.* and beginning of *Ran.* Γ=(1) Laurentianus 31. 15, 14th cent. Contains four plays of Euripides (D) and six of Aristophanes viz.: *Ach.*, *Eccl.*–v. 1136, *Eq.*, *Au.*–v. 1419, *Vesp.* (except v. 421–1397, 1494–end), *Pax* (except v. 377–1298). Von Velsen has shown that part of this MS. is now in the University Library at Leyden, i.e. (2) Vossianus Gr. F. 52 containing *Au.* v. 1492–end, *Lysist.*–v. 1034. This portion of the MS. is sometimes quoted as **L**. Scholia. Θ=Laurentianus Abbatiae olim Florentinae 2779. 140, 14th cent. Scholia. Δ = Laurent. 31. 16, 15/16th cent. **B**=Paris. 2715, 16th cent. **C**=Paris. 2717, 16th cent.

Of the other MSS. that are occasionally quoted the best are:—**M**=Ambrosianus L 39 sup., 14th cent. **P**=Vaticanus Palatinus 128, 15th cent.

Several of the plays were recast by Aristophanes himself (διασκευή, διασκευάζειν). The second version of the *Nub.* alone survives. The earlier version was in existence in the time of Eratosthenes of Alexandria (276 B.C.) (cf. *Nub.* Hypoth. vi). Traces of remodelling can be seen in the present text, e.g. 696 ff., 937, 1105. Similarly the second *Plutus* is alone represented in the MS. tradition, though fragments of the earlier play are extant. Two versions of the *Pax* and *Thesm.* are mentioned, but in either case it was probably not a revision but a distinct play upon the same subject that was produced. The attempt to find traces of revision in the other plays has not been successful.

The text of Aristophanes had suffered corruption in the pre-Alexandrine period, e.g. the last scene of *Ran.* (1429–53), cf. *Ran.* 153; *Thesm.* 80, 162; *Plut.* 179. References to the ancient learning are frequent in the Scholia (v. *infra*).

Of the 44 plays (4 of which were considered spurious in antiquity) only 11 survive, and these only in **R**, where the order is: *Plut.*, *Nub.*, *Ran.*, *Eq.*, *Ach.*, *Vesp.*, *Pax*, *Au.*, *Thesm.*, *Eccl.*, *Lysist.* There are traces of an alphabetical order in some inferior

MSS. (Novati, *Hermes*, xiv. 461). The present order is perhaps due to Symmachus (circ. A.D. 100) who probably made a selection (v. p. 41), and is known to have compiled a commentary. The fragment of a vellum MS. (**F**) containing 56 lines of *Au.* shows that in the 6th cent. A.D. the text did not differ appreciably from that of the best MSS.

The MSS. and Suidas (who quotes Aristophanes more than 5,000 times) represent strains of the same tradition. The relations which they bear to one another vary in the different plays, and none of the attempts to make a rigorous classification have been successful. **R** and **V** are undoubtedly the best, but it is impossible to rely on them entirely, e.g. *Eq.* 889 *βαλ(λ)αντίοισι* **RV** while the true reading *βλαντίοισι* is preserved in **A** and Suidas. Cf. *Pax* 758, *Thesm.* 557. **R** is the sole authority for *Pax* 897 *πλαγίαν καταβάλλειν ἐς γόνατα κύβδ' ἑστάναι*: *Eccl.* 224 *πέττουσι τοὺς πλακοῦντας ὥσπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ* and ibid. 303 *ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν*. In *Eq.* **R** is superior to **V**; in *Nub.* their authority is equal; in *Pax, Au., Ran.* **V** is somewhat better than **R**; in *Vesp.* **V** is far superior. Of the remaining MSS. the Paris **A** is the best, and is often found in alliance with the three Laurentian **ΓΔΘ**. **V** often leans to the side of **ΑΓΔΘ** and, apart from the good readings which they occasionally preserve, they serve to control the readings of **R** where **V** is absent. The Paris MSS. **B** and **C** are not of high value; they contain many futile emendations and interpolations. But they seem to represent a real tradition akin to that of the Aldine, and occasionally give good readings of their own; e.g. *Vesp.* 668 *περιπεφθείς* **B**: *περιπεμφθείς* **RV**. The Aldine edited by Musurus was printed from a MS. which cannot now be identified. (Estensis III. D. 8 of 14th cent. is known to have been in his possession.) The Scholia which it contains are of the highest importance, and its text cannot be wholly neglected though many of its readings are obvious corrections. It occasionally preserves a good reading which is lost in **RV**, e.g. *Nub.* 1298 *οὐκ ἐλᾷς ὦ σαμφόρα*; where **RV** have *οὐκ ἐλᾷς ὦ Πασία*;

Scholia. The old scholia which alone are of any value are contained in **RVΓ**. **AΘM** and the Aldine contain old scholia, but also later Byzantine notes. Such notes are based upon commentaries by Triclinius, Tzetzes, Thomas Magister, and others, and are of no value. The bulk of the old scholia is preserved in

V. Only excerpts from this larger corpus are preserved in **R** (vid. A. Römer, *Studien zu Ar.* 1902).

Ed. pr.: Aldine, 1498, containing all but *Thesm.*, *Lysist.* The *Pax* and *Eccl.* were not taken from the same source as the rest, since there is a subscription printed after *Aues.* *Thesm.* and *Lysist.* were first published in the second vol. of B. Junta's edition in 1515. Their text was taken from the Ravennas.

Indexes: Sanxay, London, 1754; Holden, *Onomasticon*[2], Cambridge, 1902; Caravalla, Oxford, 1822; Dunbar, Oxford, 1883.

ARISTOTLE (384–322 B.C.). Works on philosophy and science.

The numbers following each work in the list given below refer to the page on which they are to be found in Bekker's edition, Berlin, 1831. Spurious works are marked by square brackets. History of the text in Antiquity: Strabo, xiii. 609 ὁ γοῦν Ἀριστοτέλης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ (βιβλιοθήκην) Θεοφράστῳ παρέδωκεν, ᾧπερ καὶ τὴν σχολὴν ἀπέλιπε, πρῶτος, ὧν ἴσμεν, συναγαγὼν βιβλία καὶ διδάξας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλέας βιβλιοθήκης σύνταξιν. Θεόφραστος δὲ Νηλεῖ παρέδωκεν. ὁ δ' εἰς τὴν Σκῆψιν κομίσας τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν παρέδωκεν, ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις, οἳ κατάκλειστα εἶχον τὰ βιβλία, οὐδ' ἐπιμελῶς κείμενα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤσθοντο τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Ἀτταλικῶν βασιλέων ὕφ' οἷς ἦν ἡ πόλις, ζητούντων βιβλία εἰς τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἐν Περγάμῳ βιβλιοθήκης, κατὰ γῆς ἔκρυψαν ἐν διώρυγί τινι· ὑπὸ δὲ νοτίας καὶ σηπῶν κακωθέντα ὀψέ ποτε ἀπέδοντο οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους Ἀπελλικῶντι τῷ Τηίῳ πολλῶν ἀργυρίων τά τε Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοφράστου βιβλία. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀπελλικῶν φιλόβιβλος μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος. διὸ καὶ ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων (the damaged pages) εἰς ἀντίγραφα καινὰ μετήνεγκε τὴν γραφὴν ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἁμαρτάδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία. συνέβη δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων τοῖς μὲν πάλαι τοῖς μετὰ Θεόφραστον οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅλως τὰ βιβλία πλὴν ὀλίγων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐξωτερικῶν, μηδὲν ἔχειν φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς (systematically) ἀλλὰ θέσεις ληκυθίζειν· τοῖς δ' ὕστερον, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα προῆλθεν, ἄμεινον μὲν ἐκείνων φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ἀριστοτελίζειν, ἀναγκάζεσθαι μέντοι τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότα λέγειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν. πολὺ δὲ εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη προσελάβετο· εὐθὺς γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος τελευτὴν Σύλλας ἦρε τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος βιβλιοθήκην, ὁ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἑλών, δεῦρό τε κομισθεῖσαν Τυραννίων τε ὁ γραμματικὸς διεχειρίσατο φιλαριστοτέλης ὤν, θεραπεύσας τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βιβλιοθήκης,

καὶ βιβλιοπῶλαί τινες γραφεῦσι φαύλοις χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμβάινει τῶν εἰς πρᾶσιν γραφομένων βιβλίων καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ.

In the above story it is not necessary to believe more than that the rich collector Apellikon bought a set of Aristotle's works which were represented to him by the vendors as the philosopher's private copy. It is unlikely that there was no other copy in existence and that our present texts are descended from Apellikon's edition. The credence, however, given to the story in antiquity shows the neglect into which Aristotle's works had fallen during the two centuries after his death.

(A) Logic. The Ὄργανον (a title not older than 6th cent. A.D.) consisting of (1) Κατηγορίαι (p. 1), (2) Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας (p. 16), (3) Ἀναλυτικὰ πρότερα in 2 bks. (p. 24), (4) Ἀναλυτικὰ ὕστερα in 2 bks. (p. 71), (5) Τοπικά in 8 bks. (p. 100), (6) Σοφιστικοὶ ἔλεγχοι (p. 164), an epilogue to (5).

Best MSS. are **B**=Marcianus 201, A.D. 955; **A**=Urbinas 35, 10/11th cent.; **C**=Coislin. 330, 11th cent.; **d**=Laur. 72. 5, 10/11th cent.; **n**=Ambros. L. 93, 10th cent.

Commentaries, paraphrases, and translations:

On (1) Porphyrius, Dexippus, Simplicius, Iohannes Philoponus, Ammonius, Olympiodorus, Elias: Arabic and Armenian versions.

On (2) Stephanos, Ammonius: Syrian and Armenian versions.

On (3) Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Iohannes Philoponus, Ammonius, Themistius (?).

On (4) Themistius, Philoponus, Eustratius.

On (5), (6) Michael Ephesius.

(B) Psychology and Metaphysic.

(1) Περὶ Ψυχῆς in 3 bks. (p. 402). The best MS. is **E**= Par. 1853, 10/11th cent. In bk. 3 it is defective and its place is supplied by **L**=Vat. 253, 14th cent. There are traces pointing to a second edition of the treatise in **E** and in **P**=Vat. 1339, 12/13th cent. There is a group of late MSS. of inferior value.

Commentaries. Themistius, Simplicius, Philoponus, Sophonias.

(2) Τὰ μετὰ τὰ Φυσικά in 14 bks. (p. 980). The name is not due to Aristotle (who uses the term πρώτη φιλοσοφία) but to the later editors of his works who catalogued the Metaphysics after the

Physical writings, either because they thought that his scheme implied this order or because it was convenient to use the treatises for educational purposes in this order. The whole treatise has been redacted from time to time. Bk. ā ἔλαττον, which follows ā in the MSS., was attributed by some ancient scholars to Pasicles of Rhodes, nephew of Eudemus. Bk. 11 is spurious.

MSS.: **E** (vid. B. 1 *supra*), **A**^{b}=Laur. 87. 12, 12/13th cent., **J**=Vindob. phil. 100 shares most of the readings of **E**.

Commentaries, &c. Alexander (spurious after Book Δ), Asclepius (A–Z), Themistius (Λ), Syrianus (ΒΓΜΝ).

(3) Περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν (p. 968). MSS. are recent: **N**=Vat. 258; also in **P**=Vat. 1339, 12/13th cent.; **W**^{a}=Urbinas 44; **Z**^{a}=Laurent. 87. 21.

[(4) Περὶ Ξενοφάνους, περὶ Ζήνωνος, περὶ Γοργίου. Lipsiensis 14th cent.; **R**^{a}=Vaticanus 1302, 14th cent. Latin version by Felicianus, who used a MS. akin to **R**^{a}.]

(C) Ethics and Politics.

(1) Ἠθικὰ Νικομάχεια in 10 bks. (p. 1094). Bekker selected six MSS. of which the most important are: **K**^{b}=Laur. 81. 11, 10th cent.; **L**^{b}=Par. 1854, 12/13th cent.; **M**^{b}=Marc. 213, 14/15th cent. (of little value, its occasional good readings only dating from the Renaissance; **O**^{b}=Riccard. 46, 14th cent., is a similarly contaminated MS.); Γ=the old Latin version (? by William of Moerbecke). Index in Cardwell's ed., 1828.

Commentaries, &c. Aspasius (who shows that the text has not altered substantially since the 2nd cent. A.D.), Michael Ephesius on bk. 5, Eustratius, Heliodorus.

[(2) Ἠθικὰ Εὐδήμια in 7 bks. (p. 1214). **P**^{b}=Vat. 1342, 13th cent.; **C**^{c}=Cantabrigiensis 1879, 13th cent. An inferior text is given in **M**^{b} (*supra*) and the Aldine.]

[(3) Ἠθικὰ μεγάλα in 2 bks. (p. 1181). Two groups: (1) the best **K**^{b} (*supra*); (2) **P**^{b}**C**^{c}**M**^{b}.]

[(4) (2) is followed in MSS. by the spurious Περὶ ἀρετῶν καὶ κακιῶν (p. 1249): **L**^{b} (*supra*); **F**^{c}=Laur. 7. 35, 14th cent.; **G**^{c}**H**^{c}=Matritenses 54 and 109.]

(5) Πολιτικά, 8 bks. (p. 1252). The text anterior to the recensions which most MSS. exhibit can be recovered in part from **V**^{m}=Vat. 1298, 10/11th cent., containing palimpsest frag-

ments of bks. 3 and 6, and from H^a = Berolinensis-Hamiltonianus 397, 15th cent. The complete MSS. fall into two groups: (a) Π^1 to which belong M^s = Ambrosianus B. ord. sup. 105, 14th cent., and other late MSS.; r = the translation of William of Moerbecke which represents a lost codex. (b) Π^2 which includes P^2 = Coislinianus 161, 14th cent.; P^3 = Paris. 2026, 15th cent. Of these groups Π^2 is slightly the better.

Displacements in Text. As early as the period of the Renaissance it was suggested that the books were given in the wrong order in the MSS. It is possible that the 7th and 8th books of the traditional order should follow the first 3 books. Many scholars however hold to the traditional order.

(6) Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία. Brit. Mus. Pap. cxxxi, 1st/2nd cent. A.D. Fragments in Berlin Pap. Ed. pr.: Kenyon, London, 1891.

Index in Sandys' ed., 1893.

[(7) Οἰκονομικά in 3 bks. (p. 1343). The third book exists only in two Latin versions, one by Durandus de Alvernia, A.D. 1295. Best MS.: P^2 or I^b = Paris. Coislin. 161, 14th cent.]

(D) Rhetoric and Poetic.

(1) Ῥητορικά in 3 bks. (p. 1354). Two families: (a) A^c = Par. 1741, 10/11th cent. (b) Z^b = Vat. Pal. 23, 13th cent. and younger MSS., chiefly useful in supplying the lacunas in A^c. William of Moerbecke's translation stands midway between these two classes. Index in Gaisford's ed., 1820.

Commentaries, &c. Stephanus and Anonymus Neobarii of late Byzantine origin.

[(2) Ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (p. 1420) has been attributed to Anaximenes of Lampsacus, circ. 380–320 B.C. V^b = Palatinus 160; B^c = Urbinas 47.]

(3) Περὶ ποιητικῆς (p. 1447). A^c = Paris. 1741, 10/11th cent., generally held to be the archetype of all other MSS. Ar. = Arabic version derived from a lost Syriac translation of the Greek text. It implies a Greek text earlier that that of A^c and of different descent. Its value is not great.

E) Natural Philosophy.

(1) Περὶ φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως in 8 bks. (p. 184). Bk. 7 is spurious. Best MSS.: E = Par. 1853, 10/11th cent. and J = Vindob. phil. 100.

Paraphrase by Themistius, *Commentaries* by Simplicius, Philoponus.

(2) Περὶ οὐρανοῦ in 4 bks. (p. 268). MSS.: **E** and **J**. Themistius, Simplicius.

(3) Περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς in 2 bks. (p. 314). MSS.: **E** and **J**. Philoponus.

(4) Μετεωρολογικά in 4 bks. (p. 338). MSS.: **E** and **J**. Alexander, Philoponus, Olympiodorus.

(5) Αἱ περὶ τὰ ζῷα ἱστορίαι in 9 bks. (p. 486). The 10th bk. given by some MSS. is held by Spengel, though not by Dittmeyer, to be a retranslation into Greek of the Latin version of William of Moerbecke (circ. 1260). Bk. 7, which follows bk. 9 in most MSS., is spurious. MSS.: (1) the best $\mathbf{A}^{a}$= Marc. 208, 12/13th cent.; $\mathbf{C}^{a}$ (or **M**)=Laurent. 87. 4, 14th cent. (2) **P** (or **V**)=Vat. 1339, 15th cent.; $\mathbf{D}^{a}$=Vat. 262, 14th cent. Excerpts in Pliny.

Index in Aubert and Wimmer's ed., 1868.

(6) Περὶ ζῴων μορίων in 4 bks. (p. 639). MSS.: **E** (*supra*); **P**= Vat. 1339, 15th cent.; **S**=Laurent. 81. 1, 14th cent. Different version of iv. $691^{b}28$ to end in **Y**=Vat. 261 (14th cent.).

Commentary by Michael Ephesius. Index in Langkavel's ed. Teubn. 1868.

(7) Περὶ ζῴων γενέσεως in 5 bks. (p. 715). MSS.: **E P S Y** in (6) *supra*; **Z**=Oxon. Coll. Corp. Chr. 108, 12th cent.

Commentary, Philoponus (more probably Michael Ephesius).

(8) Περὶ πορείας ζῴων (p. 704). MSS.: **E, P S Y Z** *supra* (7); **U**= Vat. 260, 13/15th cent.

[(9) Περὶ ζῴων κινήσεως (p. 698), possibly genuine. MSS.: **E, P, S Y** *supra* (7).]

(10) The *Parua Naturalia*, a collection of small treatises, viz.: (a) περὶ αἰσθήσεως καὶ αἰσθητῶν (p. 436), (b) περὶ μνήμης καὶ ἀναμνήσεως (p. 449), (c) περὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἐγρηγόρσεως (p. 453), (d) περὶ ἐνυπνίων καὶ τῆς καθ' ὕπνον μαντικῆς (p. 458), (e) περὶ μακροβιότητος καὶ βραχυβιότητος (p. 464), (f) περὶ νεότητος καὶ γήρως (p. 467), (g) περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου (p. 467), (h) περὶ ἀναπνοῆς (p. 470).

Commentaries: Alexander (*de Sensu*), Michael Ephesius, Sophronius.

MSS. in two classes. (1) **E** (*supra*): its text ends at $464^{b}18$; **M**=Urbinas 37, 12/13th cent.; **Y**=Vat. 261, 14th cent. (2)

L=Vat. 253, 14th cent., and others. The second group presents a 'doctored' text in which the roughnesses of the original have been smoothed over. After 464^{b}18 the groups are best represented by (1) **M** and **Z**=Oxoniensis coll. C.C.C. 108, 12th cent., and (2) **L** and **S**=Laurent. 81. 1, 14th cent.

[(11) Περὶ *φυτῶν* in 2 bks. (p. 814). This is probably a treatise by Nicholas of Damascus. The present Greek text is a late translation of a Latin version of this work made in the 13th cent. from an Arabic version. MS.: **N**^{a}=Marc. 215.] Ed. pr. in *Geoponica*, Basel, 1539.

[(12) Περὶ *κόσμου* (p. 391). MSS.: **O**=Vat. 316; **P**=Vat. 1339, 12/13th cent., and others. It is probably written by a Stoic and addressed to Tib. Iulius Alexander, praefect of Egypt in A.D. 67. It has been freely adapted by Apuleius in his *De Mundo*.]

[(13) Περὶ *πνεύματος* (p. 481). **L**=Vat. 253 and others.]

[(14) Περὶ *χρωμάτων* (p. 791). **E, M**=Urb. 37, **P, L**.]

[(15) Περὶ *ἀκουστῶν* (p. 800). **M**^{a}=Paris. Coislin. 173, 15th cent.]

[(16) *Φυσιογνωμονικά* (p. 805). The best is **L**^{a}=Marc. 263; **I**^{a}=Laur. 57. 33; **K**^{a}=Marc. app. 4. 58.

[(17) Περὶ *θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων* (p. 830). **S**^{a}=Laur. 60. 19 and many *mutili*.]

[(18) *Προβλήματα* (p. 859), a collection of problems with answers by the later Peripatetics. **Y**^{a}=Par. 2036, 10th cent.; **C**^{a}=Laur. 87. 4; **X**^{a}=Vat. 1283.]

[(19) *Μηχανικά* (p. 847). MSS. late and infected by Scholia: **P**=Vat. 1339, 12/13th cent.; **W**^{a}=Urb. 44; **A**=Par. 2115, 15th cent., and Bernensis 402. Latin version by Leonicenus.]

[(20) *Ἀνέμων θέσεις καὶ προσηγορίαι* (p. 973), said to be an extract from Aristotle's Περὶ *σημείων*. **K**^{a} (16 *supra*).]

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1495–1498. Index: Bonitz in vol. v of Berlin ed., 1870.

FLAVIUS **ARRIANUS** (circ. A.D. 95–175).

(1) *Ἀνάβασις Ἀλεξάνδρου* in 7 bks. (2) Scripta minora, viz. *Ἰνδική*, *Κυνηγετικός*, *Περίπλους Εὐξείνου πόντου*, *Τέχνη τακτική*, *Ἔκταξις κατ' Ἀλανῶν*. (3) *Διατριβαὶ Ἐπικτήτου* in 8 bks. of which 1–4 survive, *Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἐπικτήτου*.

In the *Anabasis* the chief codex is **A**=Vindobonensis histor.

Gr. 4 bombycinus, 12/13th cent. It is thought to be the archetype of all the rest since the loss of an entire page explains the lacuna which is common to all MSS. in *Anab.* vii. 12. 7. The text cannot be based wholly on **A** which is mutilated at the beginning. Most of the apographs were made before **A** was corrected. These are in two classes. (*a*) **B**=Parisinus Gr. 1753, 15th cent.; **C**=Constantinopolitanus in the Library of the Seraglio, 15th cent. (*b*) A large number of MSS. arranged in three groups. There are excerpts in Vat. Gr. 73 and in other MSS. In the Ἰνδική **A** and **B** are best; in Κυνηγετικός and Περίπλους Vaticano-Palatinus 398; in the Τακτική and Ἔκταξις a Berne codex. In (3) Bodleianus (Saibantinus) Misc. Gr. 251, 12th cent.

Edd. pr.: For the *Anabasis* Lat. Trans.: B. Facius, Pesaro, 1508. Ed. pr. of Gk. text: Trincavelli, Venice, 1535; of the Περίπλους: Gelenius, Basel, 1533: of (3) Trincavelli, Venice, 1535. The remaining treatises were published in the 17th cent.

Q. **ASCONIUS** Pedianus (9 B.C.—A.D. 76).

Historical Commentary on 5 speeches of Cicero. The text depends on a MS. (? of 9th cent.) discovered by Poggio at St. Gall in 1416. Copies of this were taken by his friends Bartolomeo da Montepulciano and Zomino of Pistoia. Laurentianus 54. 5 is an early transcript of B.'s copy. Z.'s autograph copy survives in Pistoriensis, Forteguerri 37. Poggio's own copy is identified by the best critics with Matritensis 10. 81 (cf. Manilius). The lost Sangallensis must be reconstructed mainly from this. A commentary on the *Verrines* was attributed to A. until proved spurious by Madvig.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1477.

ATHENAEUS of Naucratis (age of Commodus).

Δειπνοσοφιστῶν in 15 books of which all survive save 1, 2, and part of 3. Extracts are preserved from these missing books.

All MSS. are derived from **A**=Marcianus Venetus 447, 10th cent., brought by Ioannes Aurispa to Venice from Constantinople in 1423. All other MSS. are apographs of this made in 15th or 16th cent., e.g. **B**=Laurentianus pl. 60. 1; **P**=Palatinus (Heidelbergensis) 47, written in 1505-6 by Paolo Degan

of Venice. There is an *Epitome* of the whole work made from a codex which must have been similar to **A**. It is best given in **C**=Paris. 3056, written by Hermolaus Barbarus in 1482, and **E**=Laur. 60. 2.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1514.

Index glossarum in Kaibel's ed., Leipzig, 1890.

AULUS GELLIUS (fl. circ. A.D. 150).

Noctes Atticae in 20 bks. Bks. 1–7 depend on **A**=the Vatican palimpsest (Vat.-Pal. 24), 6/7th cent., and on MSS. of 12/13th cent. Bks. 9–20 on Leidenses-Vossiani, **X**=F. 112, 10th cent., and F. 7. 2, 14th cent., the Vaticani-Reginenses, **O**=597, 10th cent., and Π=1646, 12th cent., and others. The inferior MSS. which contain the entire work are badly interpolated and are of little use save for bk. 7, for the chapter headings of bk. 8, and the last sections of bk. 20.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469. Index in Delphin ed. (J. Proust), 1681.

DECIMUS MAGNUS **AUSONIUS** (circ. A.D. 310–390, tutor to Gratian).

(1) *Praefatiunculae.* (2) *Domestica.* (3) *Ephemeris*, i. e. *totius diei negotium* (236 lines in various metres). (4) *Parentalia* (30). (5) *Commemoratio professorum Burdigalensium.* (6) *Epitaphia heroum* (26). (7) A collection of Eclogues. (8) *Cupido cruciatus.* (9) Poems (fragmentary) to a German captive woman named Bissula. (10) *Mosella* (483). (11) *Ordo nobilium urbium.* (12) *Technopaegnion.* (13) *Ludus septem sapientum.* (14) *De* XII *Caesaribus.* (15) *Fasti consulares* (fragment). (16) *Griphus ternarii numeri.* (17) *Cento nuptialis.* (18) *Epistulae* (XXV). (19) Epigrams (CXII). There are also, in prose, *Gratiarum actio ad Gratianum*, and *Periochae* to Homer.

Two collections are preserved in the existing MSS.: (1) The Tilianus collection preserved in a series of late MSS. whose best representative is **T**=Leidensis-Vossianus Q. 107, 15th cent. (called the Tilianus, from a former owner Du Tillet). It has been noticed that this collection contains no work later than the year 383 and it may represent an arrangement of the poems by the author himself. (2) The Vossianus collection preserved in **V**= Leidensis-Vossianus 111, 9th cent., a MS. in a Lombardic hand.

This collection must have been made after the poet's death,

possibly by his son Hesperius. These two collections do not contain all the poems: e. g. the *Periochae* rest upon the Paris collection (e. g. Parisinus 8500, 14th cent., and Harleianus 2613, 15th cent.). The *Mosella* is contained in a collection of excerpts found in Sangallensis 899, 10th cent., and Bruxellensis 5369/73, 12th cent.

Ed. pr. by B. Girardinus, Venice, 1472.

Index in Delphin ed. (J. Floridus), 1688.

AVIANUS [Flavius] (age of the Antonines).

42 fables founded mainly upon Babrius. MSS. exceedingly numerous. Among the best are: **T**=Treverensis 1464, 10th cent.; **C**=Par. 5570, 10th cent; **O**=Oxon. Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 14, 11th cent.

Ed. pr.: Strassburg, 1515 (according to Fröhner).

Index in Ellis' ed., Oxford, 1887.

Rufius Festus **AVIENUS** (proconsul of Africa, A.D. 366).

(1) Translation of *Aratus* Φαινόμενα (1878 hexameters), **V**= Vindobonensis 111, 10th cent., and **A**=Ambrosianus D. 52 inf., 15th cent., and ed. princeps (v. *infra*). (2) *Descriptio orbis terrae* (1393 hex.), Ambrosianus, a lost codex Ortelianus, and ed. princeps. (3) *Ora Maritima* (700 senarii) and a poem to Flavianus Myrmeicus are found only in the ed. pr.

Ed. pr. by G. Valla, Venice, 1488.

BABRIUS (end of 1st, beginning of 2nd cent. A.D.).

123 fables (μυθίαμβοι Αἰσώπειοι) arranged in 2 bks.

A=Athous, Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 22087, containing 123 fables. It was discovered by Menoides Minas in 1843. **V**=Vaticanus Gr. 777, late 15th cent., a corpus of 245 fables by various authors. **G**=Gudianus, 16th cent., containing fab. 12. **T**=Tabulae ceratae Assendelftianae, wax tablets of the 3rd cent. written from dictation by a Palmyrene schoolboy. They contain 14 fables, part of which are by Babrius. The text is most corrupt. (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiii. 292.)

Besides these MSS. there are subsidiary authorities for the text in (1) Quotations in the Lexicon of Suidas; (2) Paraphrases; (3) Imitations, e. g. by Avianus, Aphthonius, &c. A number of forgeries by Minas were published by G. C. Lewis in 1859.

Ed. pr. of the Athoan collection, Boissonade, Paris, 1844.

Index in Rutherford's ed., 1883, and in Crusius' ed., Leipzig, 1897.

BACCHYLIDES (circ. 512 B.C.—exiled from Ceos circ. 452 B.C.).

Odes : 13 *ἐπίνικοι*, 6 *διθύραμβοι*, preserved in a papyrus, dating probably from the 1st cent. B.C., discovered in Egypt, and acquired by the British Museum in 1896 (Brit. Mus. Pap. DCCXXXIII).

Ed. pr.: Kenyon, London, 1897.

Index in Kenyon : Blass, 1904 ; Jebb, 1905.

BION of Smyrna (end of 2nd cent. B.C., younger contemporary of Theocritus).

Ἐπιτάφιος Ἀδώνίδος (98 hexam.).

The tradition is the same as that of the works of Theocritus. **V**=Vaticanus 1824, 14th cent. ; **Tr.**=Parisinus 2832, Demetrii Triclinii. Fragments of poems are preserved in Stobaeus.

Ed. pr.: H. Goltzius, Bruges, 1565.

Index: Meineke's ed., Berlin, 1856.

Caius Iulius **CAESAR** (100–44 B.C.).

(1) *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, in 7 bks. (bk. 8 is by A. Hirtius). (2) *Comment. de bello ciuili*, in 3 bks. The authorship of the supplements to C.'s works, viz. *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *B. Africanum*, *B. Hispaniense*, is uncertain.

The *bellum Gallicum* is preserved in two traditions, which are now distinct, though they are ultimately derived from the same archetype. To (*a*) belong: **A**=Amstelodamensis 81 (Bongarsianus), 9/10th cent. ; **B** and **M**=Parisienses 5763, 9th cent., and 5056, 11th cent. ; **R**=Vat. 3864, 10th cent., and others. (*b*) is best represented by **T**=Par. lat. 5764 (Thuaneus), 11th cent. ; **U**=Vaticanus 3324 (Ursinianus), 11/12th cent. The first class was preferred by Nipperdey and others, while the second has found a champion in Meusel. The first class undoubtedly offers the purer text, since the MSS. of the second have been gravely interpolated at some period by a scholar who was an admirer of Cicero. Both, however, must be considered in the constitution of the text. For the other writings in the Corpus Caesarianum the second class of MSS. is the sole authority. Cf. *supra*, p. 131.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469. *Lexicon Caesarianum*, H Meusel, 1884 ; H. Merguet, 1884 ; R. Menge and S. Preuss, 1885.

CAESIUS BASSUS (under Nero), editor of Persius.

His work *De metris* was published by Ianus Parrhasius in 1504 from a codex Bobiensis, in which it was attributed to Fortunatianus. Lachmann was the first to detect the parts now claimed for Bassus. The best copy of the Bobiensis (which is now lost) is Neapolitanus IV. A. 11. The work *De metris Horatianis* is not by B.

CALLIMACHUS (circ. 310–240 B.C.).

(1) Six hymns. (2) 63 ἐπιγράμματα preserved (except 5 and 6) in the Anthology (q. v.). (3) Fragment of the *Hecale* preserved on a wooden tablet in the Rainer collection. (4) Fragments of the Αἴτια and Ἴαμβοι, Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vii (1910), pp. 15 sqq.

All MSS. are late and are probably descended from a Byzantine collection of Hymns, including Homeric Hymns, Orpheus, and Proclus. Along with the six hymns of C. were preserved some scanty extracts from a commentary compiled by Sallustius in the 4th or 5th cent. A.D. From this three families descend: (1) the most important (E), which contains the entire collection. To it belong: **m**=Matritensis, Bibl. Nat. N. 24, written in A.D. 1464, by Constantine Lascaris at Milan, and three others, one of which, Laurent. 32. 45 (d), was mutilated in the portion containing Callimachus in order to serve as copy for the ed. pr. by Ianus Lascaris in 1494. (2) The **A**-group, best represented by **a**=Vat. 1691. This group does not contain the whole of the original Byzantine sylloge, but only the Hymns of Call. and Orpheus. (3) The **F**-group, consisting of **r**=Athous Laurae 587 and Ambrosianus B. 98.

Ed. pr.: I. Lascaris, Florence, circ. 1497.

Index: O. Schneider's ed., vol. ii, Leipzig, 1873.

T. **CALPURNIUS** SICULUS (under Nero), whose seven eclogues are preserved in the same corpus with four by Nemesianus (A.D. 284).

(1) The best class includes: **N**=Neapolitanus 380, 14/15th cent.; **G**=Gaddianus 90. 12 inf., 15th cent.; **A**=a lost MS. of Thaddeus Ugoletus, of which a collation exists in Riccardianus 363, 15th cent. (2) **P**=Parisinus 8049, 12th cent., containing as far as *Ecl.* iv. 12, from which the vulgate text descends.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1471.
Index in C. E. Glaeser's ed., 1842.

M. Porcius **CATO** (234–149).
(1) *De Agri cultura.* (2) Fragments of speeches, &c.
Lost Marcianus of which copies survive; and also a collation in Paris by Politian in a copy of the ed. pr. The Marcianus was used by P. Victorius for his edition of 1541. For the condition of the text v. p. 141.
Ed. pr. included in G. Merula's *Rei Rusticae Scriptores*, Jenson, Venice, 1472.
Index in H. Keil's ed., 1884–1902.

Cassius Dio, s. v. Dio.

Caius Valerius **CATULLUS** (d. circ. 54 B.C.), 116 poems survive.
Numerous MSS. of 14/15th cent. all ultimately descended from a MS. discovered at Verona early in the 14th cent. Of these the best are: **G**=Sangermanensis Par. 14137, A.D. 1375; **O**=Oxoniensis Bodl. Canon. Lat. 30, 14th cent.; **R**=Vat. Ottob. 1829 (Romanus), late 14th cent. The tradition has suffered greatly from Renaissance interpolators. Traces of another tradition are seen in **T**=Paris. 8071 (Thuaneus), which preserves lxii as part of an Anthology of Latin poetry.
Ed. pr.: Venice, 1472; with Tibull., Prop., and Statius *Siluae*.
Index in Delphin ed., 1685; Ellis' ed., Oxford, 1878; M. N. Wetmore, New Haven, 1912.

CEBES.
The *πίναξ*, or allegorical description of life from the standpoint of the Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy, is probably the work of an anonymous author belonging to the 1st cent. A.D. The end is mutilated and survives only in an Arabic paraphrase.
The text, which is gravely corrupted, rests mainly on: **A**=Parisinus 858, 11th cent., ending at ch. 23. 2, after which its place is best supplied by Vat. 112, 14th cent. Many late MSS. The Lat. trans. by Ludovicus Odaxius of Padua is the sole authority for a lost codex Urbinas.
Ed. pr.: Z. Callierges, Rome, ? 1515.

A. Cornelius **CELSUS** (under Tiberius). Of his encyclopaedia (Artes) bks. 6–13, *De Medicina*, alone survive. All MSS.

come from the same archetype which had a lacuna in iv. 27. The oldest are Vaticanus 5951, 10th cent., and Laurentianus 73. 1, 12th cent. Parisinus 7028, 11th cent., contains excerpts.
Ed. pr.: Florence, 1478.
Index by G. Matthiae in the Leyden ed., 1785.

MARCUS TULLIUS **CICERO** (106–43 B. C.).

I. SPEECHES.

The criticism of Cicero's speeches has been greatly advanced of recent years by the researches of A. C. Clark, Peterson, and others into the history of the text. As the speeches are not arranged in chronological order in the groups in which they are preserved in the MSS., it is convenient to survey some of the principal MSS. before dealing with individual speeches. The important MSS. which lie behind the present tradition are:

(*a*) The *uetus Cluniacensis*, which contained Pro Milone, Pro Cluentio, Pro Murena, Pro Sext. Roscio, Pro Caelio, belonging possibly to 8th cent. or earlier. In the 15th cent. the Pro Sext. Roscio and Pro Murena were copied by the scribes of Σ= Parisinus Lat. 14749, olim S. Victoris, 15th cent., a large MS. of the orations drawn from many sources. The *Cluniacensis* came into the possession of Poggio circa 1413 who brought it to Italy, where his friend Bartolomeo da Montepulciano made excerpts which have been preserved by the scribe of **B**=Laur. 54. 5. The Italian scholars copied from it the two new speeches (Pro Sext. Rosc. and Pro Muren.) which had been previously unknown, but, as the MS. was hard to read, contented themselves with extracting variant readings from it in the other speeches.

(*b*) The *Sylloge Poggiana*. In 1417 while at the Council of Constance Poggio acquired the text of Pro Caecina, De Lege Agraria i-iii, Pro C. Rabirio perd. rĕo, In L. Pisonem, Pro C. Rabirio Post. Poggio always speaks of his own autograph copy, and there is no justification for the belief that all these speeches were copied by him from one and the same MS. The Pro Caecina was copied from a MS. at Langres (Lingonensis) according to the 'subscription' which still follows the speech, but the origin of the other speeches in the sylloge is unknown. Poggio's own MS. has disappeared, but through the copies made from it (§ 3 *infra*), it is now the sole authority (except for palimpsest

fragments) for *Pro Rosc. Com.* and the speeches *Pro C. Rabirio* and *Pro R. Post.* Additional evidence for the text of the other speeches was found during the period of the Renaissance.

(*c*) The *Pro Quinctio* and *Pro Flacco* became known to the Italians about 1405. Who discovered them and in what MS. he discovered them is unknown. They were probably copied from a French MS., since they are contained in the French MS. Σ (v. *supra*).

(*d*) *Codex Cluniacensis nunc Holkhamicus* 387, 9th cent. This codex contains in a more or less mutilated form the Catilinarian speeches, Pro Q. Ligario, Pro rege Deiotaro, In Verrem ii, bks. 2, 3. It was discovered by Peterson in Lord Leicester's Library at Holkham, and, as has been shown by him, is identical with no. 498 in the twelfth-century catalogue of the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis from which Poggio obtained the uetus Cluniacensis described above. It is to be regarded as the primary source for all the texts which it contains.

I. Speeches: (*a*) First Period, 81–66 B. C.

1. *Pro Quinctio* (81 B. C.). **P**=Turin palimpsest containing fragments only. The complete MSS. are all of the 15th cent.: they exhibit two strains of descent. (1) From a codex now lost which was discovered by the Italians circ. 1405. From this descend the French family, whose best representative is **Σ**= Parisinus 14749, olim S. Victoris. (2) From another lost codex whose readings are preserved in the second hand of **b**=S. Marci 255, Flor. Bibl. Nat. I. iv. 4. The ordinary Italian MSS., e.g. χ=S. Marci 254, Flor. Bibl. Nat. I. iv. 5, give a text which is the result of a mixture of both these sources. The tradition is the same as in the *Pro Flacco.*

2. *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* (80). All codd. are derived from Poggio's *Cluniacensis,* now lost, which was brought to Italy in 1413 or 1414. An earlier tradition survives in the Vatican fragment. The tradition is the same as in the Pro Murena. Chief MSS. are:—**Σ** as in (1). Of the Italian MSS. the best are **A**=Laur. 48. 10, 15th cent., and π=Perusinus E. 71, 15th cent.

3. *Pro. Quinto Roscio Comoedo* (date uncertain, ? 68). This, together with Pro Caecina, De Lege Agraria i–iii, Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo, In Pisonem, and Pro C. Rabirio Postumo, descends from a copy made by Poggio from a MS.

discovered in 1417. This 'Poggianum exemplar' is lost and can only be recovered from its copies, of which the chief are **M**= Laur. Conv. Soppr. 13 (which is mutilated and now contains only Pro Caecina, De Lege Agraria, and In Pisonem); **Ω**=Laur. 48. 26, containing Pro Rosc. Com., Pro Rabirio p. r., and Pro Rabirio Postumo; **o**=Oxoniensis Dorvill. 78; **s**=Senensis II. vi. 12; **m**=Ambros. C. 96. Where **M** is defective **Ω** is the best MS.

4. *Pro Marco Tullio* (uncertain, ? 71 B. C.). Only fragments survive, preserved in the Turin and Milan palimpsests, 4/5th cent.

5. The seven speeches *In Verrem* (70) have been preserved in most of the MSS. in two groups, viz. (1) *Diu. in Quint. Caec.*, 1 Act., 2 Act., i, iv, v, and (2) 2 Act. ii–iii. This division must be due to some mutilation in an archetype or to a tendency to group together the more interesting and least technical speeches. The first advance in systematic criticism of the text of group (1) was made in 1828 when Madvig arranged the MSS. in two classes: **X**=the French group, **Y**=the Italian. The MSS. of the **X** group are all mutilated. The chief are **R**=Regius Parisinus 7774, 9th cent. (2 Act. iv, v); **S**=Parisinus 7775, 13th cent. (fragments of 2 Act. i and whole of iv, v); **D**=Parisinus 7823, 15th cent., copied from **S** before the loss of 2 Act. i. Of the **Y**-group the best MS. is **p**=Parisinus 7776, 11th cent., which contains all the speeches. The early printed texts are all based on inferior MSS. belonging to this group. The **Y**-text in its best form is ancient and seems to have been used by Quintilian.

In the second group (2 Act. ii, iii) the problem has been changed by the discovery of **C**=the Cluniacensis (v. *supra*) and by the proof that **O**=Lagomarsin. 42, nunc Flor. Bad. 2618, is a copy made from **C** before it was mutilated in the 15th cent. Further evidence for the readings in the mutilated portions of **C** is afforded by a number of mediaeval collations. In these speeches the **Y**-text rests mainly on **C** and its subsidiaries. The inferior **Y**-text is presented by **p** and other codd.

Throughout all the speeches there are fragments of **V**=palimpsestus Vaticanus Reginensis 2077, 3/4th cent., apparently a composite MS. embodying various recensions, since its relation to the other MSS. constantly varies. In the earlier speeches

it disagrees with the **Y**-group: in ii–iii it often agrees with **H O**, though with strange differences in the order of words: in iv, v it seems almost to be the parent of the **Y**-text.

(1) *Diu. in Q. Caecilium*, 1 Act., 2 Act. i. MSS. are **S**, **D** and reports of old codices preserved by Lambinus (λ) and Stephanus (s) and fragments of **V**.

(2) 2 Act. ii–iii. **V** (fragments), **C**, and its copy **O**.

(3) 2 Act. iv–v. **R S** and **H**=excerpts from Harleianus 2682, 10th cent., and fragments in **V**.

6. *Pro M. Fonteio* (?69). Fragments in Vat. palimpsest. Best codex is **V**=tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25, 9th cent. (Cf. Pro Flacco, In Pisonem, and Philippics.)

7. *Pro A. Caecina* (69). Beside **Mos** (vide § 3 *supra*), which give the Poggian tradition, there is a separate tradition preserved in **T**=Tegernseensis, nunc Monacensis 18787, 11th cent., and **E**=Erfurtensis nunc Berolinensis 252, 12/13th cent.

(*b*) Second Period (66–59 B.C.).

8. *De imperio Cn. Pompei* (66). **P**=Turin palimpsest. The best family consists of **H**=Harleianus 2682, 11th cent., **E** and **T** (§ 7 *supra*), **t**=Hildesheimensis, 15th cent., a copy made from **T** while **T** was still entire.

9. *Pro A. Cluentio Habito* (66). **P**=Turin palimpsest. The MS. tradition largely depends on the lost uetus Cluniacensis (v. *supra* I (*a*)), whose text has to be inferred from **Σ**=2nd hand in Paris. 14749, 15th cent. **B**=excerpts by B. da Montepulciano. **M**=Laur. 51. 10, a mutilated MS. of 11th cent. in a Lombardic (Beneventan) hand, presents a different tradition.

10. *De lege Agraria contra Rullum*, 3 speeches. Two sources: (1) The *Sylloge Poggiana*, **Mosω** v. *supra* § 3; (2) **E** (§ 7 *supra*) and later MSS.

11. *Pro C. Rabirio perduellionis reo* (63). **P** and **V**=Vatican palimpsests. Otherwise text rests entirely on the *Sylloge Poggiana*, v. *supra* § 3, e. g. **mos** and **Ω**=Laur. 48. 26 (Lag. 26).

12. *In Catilinam*, 4 speeches (63). **C**=Cluniacensis at Holkham (*supra* § I (*d*)). **A**=Ambrosianus C. 29 inf., 10th cent. **V**=Vossianus Lat. O. 2, 11th cent. These form one class. There are besides two inferior classes.

13. *Pro L. Murena* (62). All codd. are late and derived from

the *Cluniacensis* § 1 (a) *supra*. The tradition is the same as in the *Pro Rosc. Amerino*.

14. *Pro P. Cornelio Sulla* (62). **T, E** (§ 7 *supra*). **E** only contains § 81 to end. **T** is the chief authority.

15. *Pro Archia* (62). **E** (§ 7 *supra*), and **G**=Gemblacensis-Bruxellensis 5352, 12th cent., which is undoubtedly the best MS.

16. *Pro L. Flacco* (59). The lacunae at the beginning are partly recovered from the scholiasta Bobiensis. **M**=fragmentum Mediolanense (part of § 5). **P**=frag. Peutingerianum (§§ 75-83, known from Cratander's edition). **V**=cod. tab. Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25, 9th cent., containing §§ 39-54. Otherwise the tradition is the same as in the *Pro Quinctio* and depends mainly on **Σ**.

(*c*) Third Period (57-52 B. C.).

17. The four speeches *Post reditum*, i. e. *Cum senatui, Cum populo, De domo sua, De haruspicum responso.* **P**=Parisinus 7794, 9th cent. **G**=Gemblacensis-Bruxellensis 5345, 12th cent.

18, 19. *Pro P. Sestio* and *In P. Vatinium* (56). Best MSS. are **P** and **G** (as in § 17).

20. *Pro M. Caelio* (56). Fragments in **A T**=Ambrosian and Turin palimpsests. Besides these there are two lines of tradition: (1) The uetus Cluniacensis of Poggio as known from **Σ** and **B** (v. I (*a*) *supra*). This text is closely related to that of the palimpsests. (2) **P** (§ 17 *supra*) and its descendants.

21. *De Prouinciis consularibus* (56). **PG** (§ 17 *supra*).

22. *Pro L. Cornelio Balbo* (56). **PG** (§ 17 *supra*).

23. *In L. Pisonem* (55). **P**=Turin palimpsest, **V** (§ 16 *supra*). There is valuable evidence in Asconius. **E** (§ 7 *supra*). Other MSS. are descended from Poggio's 'Sylloge' (§ 3 *supra*).

24. *Pro Cn. Plancio* (54). **T** and **E** (§ 7 *supra*).

25. *Pro M. Aem. Scauro* (54). Ambrosian and Turin palimpsests.

26. *Pro C. Rabirio Postumo* (54). Text rests entirely on Poggio's copy (cf. § 3 *supra*). Chief MSS. are **Ωmos**.

27. *Pro T. Annio Milone* (52). **P**=Turin palimpsest. The best family of MSS. includes **H**=Harleianus 2682, 11th cent., identified by Clark with the Basilicanus or Hittorpianus, **T** and **E** (§ 7 *supra*), **W**=the lost Werdensis, used by F. Fabricius.

(*d*) Fourth Period (46-43 B. C.).

28. *Orations before Caesar*, i. e. *Pro M. Marcello* (46), *Pro Q. Ligario* (46), *Pro rege Deiotaro* (45). MSS. fall into three classes.

Of the best class the most important member is **H** (v. § 27 *supra*). To the same class belong **A**=Ambrosianus, 10th cent., **V**= Vossianus Lat. O. 2, 11th cent.

29. *Philippics* (44–43), 14 speeches. Best MS. is **V**=tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae H. 25, 9th cent. The others all spring from a mutilated archetype.

Ed. pr. of *Philippics*, Rome, circ. 1470.

First collected edition of the Speeches, Rome, circ. 1471.

Index to Speeches: H. Merguet, 1877.

ANCIENT COMMENTARIES ON THE SPEECHES.

1. By *Q. Asconius Pedianus* (written between 54 and 57 A. D.) on the In Pisonem, Pro Scauro, Pro Milone, Pro Cornelio. The commentary on the Diuinatio in Caecilium, Verrines Act. i and Act. ii. 1–2. 35 is not by Asconius. It is therefore usually referred to as pseudo-Asconian. 2. The *Scholia Bobiensia* (? 5th cent. A. D.), discovered by Mai in the Frontonian palimpsest from Bobbio (now at Rome and Milan, Vat. lat. 5750 and Ambros. E. 147. sup.), comment on the Pro Flacco, Cum Senatui, Cum populo, Pro Plancio, Pro Milone, Pro Sestio, In Vatinium, Pro Archia, Pro Sulla, and several lost speeches. 3. *Scholiasta Gronovianus.* Notes on the third and fourth Catilinarian and mutilated notes on ten other speeches contained in Vossianus quart. 138, 10th cent., a MS. once in the possession of Gronovius. Of little value.

II. RHETORICAL WRITINGS.

1. *Ad C. Herennium de arte rhetorica*, s. v. Herennius.

2. *De inuentione rhetorica* in 2 bks. Codd. are very numerous. The best are **H**=Herbipolitanus Mp. m. f. 3, 9th cent. **P**=Paris. 7714, 9th cent. These belong to a group of MSS. which are defective in i. 62-76 and ii. 170–175. Commentary by Marius Victorinus (4th cent.) preserved in **D**=Darmstadiensis, 7th cent.

Ed. pr. of (1), (2) Venice (N. Jenson), 1470.

3. *De Oratore* (55 B. C.). Only a mutilated text of the *de Oratore* and *Orator* was known till 1422 when Gerard Landriani discovered a MS. containing a complete text of these treatises and also of the *Brutus* at Lodi (Laus Pompeia). This codex Laudensis has since disappeared, and it is uncertain whether it was copied throughout or only used to supply the deficiencies

in the current text. The tradition of the Laudensis is best given by **P**=Palatinus 1469 and **O**=Ottobonianus 2057 (dated 1425). Of the codd. mutili the best are **H**=Harleianus 2736, 10th cent., **A**=Abrincensis 238, 10th cent., **E**=Erlangensis 848, 10th cent., and **R**=Vat-Reg. 1762 which contains excerpts made by Hadoard (see p. 71 *note*).

Ed. pr.: Subiaco, 1465.

4. *Partitiones Oratoriae* (54). **P**=Par. 7231, **p**=Par. 7696, both of the 10th cent. Late MSS., e. g. Erlangenses 848, 858, 863.

5. *Brutus* (46), unknown till the discovery of the Laudensis (v. *supra*), a copy of which survives perhaps in **F**=Florentinus-Magliabecchianus 1. 1. 14, written in 1422 or 1423. **B**, **O**= Ottoboniani 1592 (A. D. 1422) and 2057 (A. D. 1425), and others are remoter descendants of the Laudensis.

Ed. pr. (with *Orator*): Rome, 1469.

6. *Orator* (46). The codd. mutili all descend from the Abrincensis 238, 10th cent. The complete tradition is derived from the Laudensis (*supra*) which is represented by **F** and **O** as in Brutus and by **P**=Palatinus 1469.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469.

7. *Topica* (44). Two classes: (1) **O**=Ottobonianus 1406, 10th cent. (2) Vossiani 84 (**A**), and 86 (**B**), both 10th cent., and others. There is a commentary by Boethius to 20. 77.

8. *De optimo genere Oratorum* (date uncertain). Sangallensis 818, 11th cent. (**G** or **d**), **P**=Paris. 7347, 11th cent., and a number of late MSS.

III. Philosophic Writings.

1. *De Re publica* (between 54 and 51), in 6 bks. The only MS. is the Vatican palimpsest 5757 published by Mai in 1822. For *Somnium Scipionis* v. Macrobius.

2. *De Legibus*, in 3 bks. (probably a posthumous work). Vossiani **A** and **B**, as in Topica, *supra*, **H**=Leidensis (Heinsianus) lat. 118, 11th cent. There are excerpts made by Hadoard in the 9th cent. (cf. p. 71 *note*).

3. *Paradoxa Stoicorum ad M. Brutum* (46). Vossiani as in Topica and Vindob. 189 as in Acad. Pr., *infra*.

Ed. pr.: Mainz, 1465, with *De Officiis*.

4. *Academica* (45), originally published in two editions. (1) *Academica Priora*, in 2 bks., of which bk. 2 (*qui inscribitur Lucullus*) survives, and (2) *Academica Posteriora*, in 4 bks. of which bk. 1 survives. *Ac. Post.* are preserved in late MSS. only, e. g. Paris. 6331 (Puteaneus), 15th cent., and a Gedanensis. All are from the same archetype. For the *Ac. Pr.* the authorities are:—the two Vossiani as in Topica, **V**= Vindobon. 189, 10th cent. The textual tradition of the *Ac. Pr.* is the same as that of De Nat. Deorum, De Diuinatione, De Fato, Paradoxa, Timaeus, and De Legibus.

5. *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, in 5 bks. (45). The best family include **A**=Vat-Pal. 1513, 11th cent., **B**=Vat-Pal. 1525, 15th cent., **E**=Erlangensis 38, 15th cent., and the readings of a similar MS. noted in the margin of Cratander's edition of 1528. They and the deteriores descend from a recent and faulty archetype. All show a lacuna at i. 22.

6. *Tusculanarum disputationum*, libri v (45–44). **G**=Gudianus 294, 9th cent., **R**=Parisinus 6332, 9th cent., **V**=Vat. 3246, 10th cent. There is a large group of inferior MSS., e.g. **D**=Bonnensis 140 (Duisburgensis) ? 13th cent. Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469.

7. *De Natura Deorum*, in 3 bks. (44). Same tradition as the *Academica Priora, supra.*

8. *Cato maior de Senectute* (44). **P**=Paris. 6332, 9th cent. **V**=Vossianus O. 79, 9th cent. **L**=Vossianus F. 12, 10th cent. **b**=Bruxellensis 9591, 9th cent. **A**=Ashburnhamensis nunc Paris. nouv. acq. Lat. 454, 9th cent. In two groups, **P V** and **b L A.**

9. *De Diuinatione* in 2 bks. (44); 10. *De Fato* (44); and 11. Translation of the *Timaeus*, v. *Academica Priora.*

12. *Laelius de Amicitia* (44). Parisinus-Didotianus, 9/10th cent. (Mommsen, Rh. Mus. 1863), **M**=Monacensis 15514, 10th cent., **G**=Gudianus 335, 10th cent.

13. *De Officiis*, in 3 bks. (44). Two families: (1) **B**=Bambergensis 427, 10th cent., **H**=Wirceburgensis Mp. f. 1, 10th cent., and others. (2) An interpolated class, e. g. Harleianus 2716, 9/10th cent.

Ed. pr.: Mainz, 1465, with Paradoxa.

Ed. pr. of collected philosophic works: Rome, 1471.

Index to philosophic works: H. Merguet, 1887.

IV. Poems.

Translation of Aratus' *Prognostica* and *Phaenomena*. **H**= Harleianus 647, 9th cent., Dresdensis 183, 10th cent.

Ed. pr.: in G. Valla's *Avienus*, Venice, 1488.

V. Letters.

(1) *General correspondence* (62–43) in 16 bks., known as Epistulae ad Familiares, a title introduced by Stephanus. In MSS. the various books are named after the chief correspondent, e. g. M. Tulli Ciceronis epistularum ad C. Curionem. The work was published by Tiro in single books. In the 4th or 5th cent. it was arranged in sets of four books, and before the 9th cent., when our tradition begins, in sets of eight. (2) *The Special correspondence*. (*a*) *Ad Quintum Fratrem* (60–54), in 3 bks. (*b*) *Ad Atticum* (68–44), in 16 bks. (*c*) *Ad M. Brutum* (43), in 2 bks. The only authority for the second of these, containing five letters, is the Basel edition of Cratander, 1528. The authenticity of the Letters to Brutus was long regarded as doubtful, but they are now held to be genuine with possibly a few exceptions (e. g. i. 16–17). The letters to Atticus must have been published after the time of Asconius (d. A. D. 58) since he does not mention them.

The textual tradition of the General is distinct from that of the Special Letters. Petrarch in 1345 discovered a MS. in Verona which must have contained the Special Letters. P.'s copy as well as the original MS. has since disappeared. Salutati, hearing that the MS. used by Petrarch was in the possession of Visconti, Duke of Milan, procured a copy which was found to contain the General Letters. The copy had been made, by mistake, not from Petrarch's MS. but from another that had come from Vercelli. This apographon Vercellense still exists in **P**=Laurent. 49. 7. The copy of the Veronese MS. which Salutati procured in 1389 survives in Laurent. 49. 18. The Vercelli MS. is still preserved in the Laurentian Library (No. 49. 9 of the 9th cent.).

The text of the *General Letters* depends therefore on this Vercelli MS. known as **M** (9th cent.), from which the Italian family of MSS. descends, and on a number of independent MSS. In bks. 1–8 the best of these are **G**=Harleianus 2773, 12th cent., and **R**=Paris. 17812, 12th cent. Their evidence is not as

trustworthy as that of **M**. In bks. 9–16 the independent tradition rests on **H**=Harleianus 2682, 11th cent., **F**=Berolinensis (Erfurtensis) 252, 12/13th cent., and **D**=Palatinus 598, 15th cent. The evidence of **M** in these books is valuable but not preponderant.

(2) The text of the *Special Letters* depends on **M**=Laurent. 49. 18 (v. *supra*). Independent authority is claimed for **C**=Cratander's edition and its marginal readings which are thought to be derived from **W**=Wirceburgensis, 11th cent., which is now fragmentary. Some think that this MS. is identical with the lost Laurisheimensis mentioned in a 10th cent. catalogue of the library at Lorsch. **Z**, the Tornesianus, is a MS. once in the possession of Detournes and now lost: its readings are preserved by Lambinus and others. It represents an independent tradition in the *Epp. ad Atticum*. Against **C W Z** stand **M** and a number of late Italian MSS. which are akin to it though not descended from it, e.g. **E**=Excerpta Ambrosiana (E. 14), 14th cent.; **N**=Laurent. 49, 14/15th cent.; **H**=Landianus of the same date.

Ed. pr. of *Ad Fam.*, Rome, 1467; *Ad Att.*, Rome, 1470.

Index: M. Nizolius, 1559 (often reprinted). Handlexikon, Merguet, Leipzig, 1905.

Ed. pr. of collected works, Milan, 1498.

Quintus Tullius **CICERO** (102–43).

Commentariolum Petitionis. Its authenticity has been called in question. Best MSS. are **H** and **F** (v. General Letters, *supra*).

Claudius **CLAUDIANUS** (d. circ. A.D. 404). From the point of view of the textual tradition his poems fall into two divisions: (1) a large collection containing panegyrics, epigrams, and other occasional poems; and (2) the *Raptus Proserpinae*.

For (1) the main authorities are: (*a*) Collations of lost MSS.: **E**=Excerpta Florentina or Lucensia, contained in a copy of the ed. pr. now at Venice (A. 4. 36). **e**=Excerpt. Gyraldina, preserved in a copy of the Aldine at Leyden (757. G. 2). (*b*) Of the MSS. the most trustworthy are: **V**=Vat. 2809, a volume containing several MSS., foll. 1–39 belong to 12th cent. the rest to 15th cent.; **P**=Parisinus Lat. 18552 (Oiselianus), 12/13th cent.; **Π**=Par. Lat. 8082, 13th cent., cited sometimes as the Regius;

R=Veronensis 163, 9th cent. These fall into two groups: **V P** and **Π E e R**. Many inferior MSS.

For (2) no MS. is older than the 12th cent. The poem is preserved in two recensions: (*a*) the larger contained in **F**= Florentinus S. Crucis pl. 34 sinistr. 12, 12th cent.; **S**=Par. Lat. 15005, 13/14th cent., and other MSS. (*b*) **A** and **B**=two MSS. bound up with others in Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 16; **C**=Cantabrig. Coll. Corporis Christi 228, 12th cent. There is also a group which stands midway between these.

Ed. pr.: by Barnabas Celsanus, Vicenza, 1482.

Index in Birt's ed., *Mon. Germ. Hist. Auctores*, vol. x, 1892.

L. Iunius Moderatus **COLUMELLA** (wrote circ. A.D. 65).

(1) *De Re Rustica* (12 bks.). (2) *De arboribus* (1 bk.). Best codex is Sangermanensis, 9/10th cent., now Petropolitanus 207. It is closely related to Ambrosianus L. 85 sup., 9/10th cent. The others (of which the best, the Mosquensis, 14th cent., was burnt in the invasion of 1812) are of little value.

Ed. pr. in *Script. de Re Rust.*, Venice, 1472.

Consolatio ad Liviam, s. v. Epicedion Drusi.

CONSTANTINE EXCERPTS.

These are excerpts made by direction of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine (912–959) with the object of forming an Encyclopaedia of History and Political Science. Among the authors excerpted are Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus, Appian, Arrian, Cassius Dio, Eusebius, Zosimus. The passages selected were arranged under 53 headings, e. g. *περὶ πρεσβειῶν*, *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*, *περὶ γνωμῶν*. As can be seen from these titles the matter alone of the authors excerpted was taken into account and no passages were selected for the sake of their value as literature. The selection is preserved partly in MSS. dating from the time of Constantine (e. g. codex Peirescianus, now at Tours, of the section *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας*) and partly in later MSS. The information contained in the historical articles in Suidas' Lexicon is for the most part drawn from these excerpts. Best ed. by Boissevain, de Boor, and Büttner-Wobst, Berlin, 1903–

DEMOSTHENES (383–322 B.C.). 61 speeches: besides *προοίμια* and *ἐπιστολαί*.

The extant corpus probably represents the selection made by the Alexandrines. There are traces of ancient editions, e. g. the Ἀττικιανά (sc. ἀντίγραφα) mentioned in cod. **F**, and the ἀρχαία (sc. ἔκδοσις) schol. Mid. § 147, but nothing definite is known about them. There are over 200 MSS. all descended from a common archetype in which the end of the Zenothemis was mutilated. They are sometimes divided into four classes, but their relations to one another are by no means constant in the different speeches. (1) **Σ** or **S** = Parisinus 2934, early 10th cent., which is by far the best. In the Third Philippic it preserves a shorter version due possibly to an earlier draft of Demosthenes, and in general it offers a less redundant text than the other families. **L** = Laurent. plut. 56. 9.136, 13/14th cent. (partly paper). (2) **A** = Augustanus primus, or Monacensis 485, 10/11th cent. (3) **Y** or **Y** = Parisinus 2935, 11th cent. (4) **F** or **M** = Marcianus 416, 11th cent. A note on the *Ep. ad Philippum* (or. xi) states that διώρθωται ἐκ δύο Ἀττικιανῶν.

There are many papyrus fragments from the 1st cent. A.D. and later which on the whole support the best MSS.

Scholia to 18 speeches by Ulpian and Zosimus. Many MSS. contain stichometrical numbers and critical signs.

Ed. pr.: *Letters* in Aldus, *Epp. Graec. Collectio*, 1499; *Speeches*, Aldus, 1504.

Index: S. Preuss, Leipzig, 1892.

DINARCHUS (circ. 360–290 B.C.). 3 speeches.

The text depends almost entirely on **A** = Crippsianus, Brit. Mus. Burney 95, 13th cent., and **N** = Bodleianus Misc. 208, 14th cent.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, *Orationes Rhetorum Graecorum*, 1513.

Index: Forman, Oxford, 1897.

Cassius **DIO** Cocceianus (circ. A.D. 150–235).

Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία in 80 bks., of which 36–60 and 79 survive almost entire. Fragments of the others are preserved in the various excerpts mentioned below. Epitome of 36–end by Joannes Xiphilinos (11th cent.): of the earlier books (1–21) by Zonāras (12th cent.).

(A) *Libri Integri.* The text of bks. 36–60 rests mainly upon two MSS., viz.: **L** = Laurent. Med. 70. 8, 11th cent. (bks. 36–50), and supplemented to the end of bk. 54 by **V** = Vat. 144, a copy

of **L** made in 1439. **M**=Marcianus 395, 11th cent. (bks. 44–60, but with frequent lacunae after bk. 55).

Almost the whole of bk. 79 and the early chapters of bk. 80 are preserved in cod. Vaticanus Gr. 1288, 5/6th cent.

(B) *Epitomes.* The MSS. of Zonaras are exceedingly numerous: the best are **B**=Vindob. 16, 15th cent., and **C**=Colbertinus-Parisinus 1717, 13th cent. The best authorities for Xiphilinos are **V**=Vat. 145, 15th cent.; **C**=Coislinianus 320, 15th cent.

(C) *Excerpts from the Constantine collection.* Excerpta Valesiana, published by Valesius in 1634 from Peiresc's codex of the Constantine excerpts (q. v.).

Excerpta Maiana, published by Angelo Mai in 1827 from Vaticanus 73, a palimpsest, 10/11th cent.

Excerpta Ursiniana, published in 1582 by Fulvius Ursinus, from copies of a MS. (burnt in 1621) belonging to the Spaniard Pacius.

There are also fragments preserved in Parisinus 1397 of Strabo (A), 11th cent.; in the Florilegium S. Maximi (Vat. 739 (A), 11/12th cent.); in Bekker's *Anecdota* (Parisinus 345, 11th cent.); and in Tzetzes and other Byzantine writers.

Edd. pr.: bks. 36–60, R. Stephanus, Paris, 1548; Xiphilinos, R. Stephanus, 1551; Zonaras, H. Wolf, Basel, 1557.

Index: Sturz, vol. viii, Leipzig, 1825.

DIODORUS (contemporary with Julius Caesar).

Βιβλιοθήκη ἱστορική in 40 bks. (published in pentades), of which 1–5 and 11–20 survive; excerpts from the rest are preserved. For the 'Ineditum Vaticanum' (Vat. 435, 14th cent.) *v.* Hermes, 1892, pp. 118–130.

In 1–5 there are two classes: (1) **D**=Vindobonensis 79, 11th cent., and its descendants. (2) **C**=Vaticanus 130, 12th cent., and several MSS. of 15/16th cent. The divergence is as old as Eusebius whose quotations follow the tradition of class C, e. g. 1. 16. 1 *νευρίνην* D: *εὑρεῖν* Euseb.: *εὑρεῖν ἦν* C.

In 11–15 there are three groups: (1) **P**=Patmius, 10/11th cent., by far the best. (2) **A**=Coislinianus 149, 15th cent., which also contains a valueless text of 1–5. There are other MSS. of this group of 15th cent. (3) **F**=Laurentianus 70. 12, 14th cent., containing bks. 11–20 and others.

In 16–20 **P** (v. *supr.*) and a kindred MS. **X**=Venetus Marcianus 376, 14/15th cent. Other MSS. are useful only in supplementing the deficiencies in these. All are from the same archetype with a lacuna in bk. 17. 84.

Edd. pr.: by Vincentius Obsopoeus, Basel, 1539 (16–20); by H. Stephanus, Geneva, 1559 (1–5, 11–20).

Index: ed. Petrus Wesselingius, vol. ii, Amsterdam, 1756.

DIOGENES LAERTIUS (early in 3rd cent. A.D.).

Lives of the philosophers in 10 bks., entitled in the best MSS. *Λαερτίου Διογένους φιλοσόφων βίων καὶ δογμάτων συναγωγῆς τῶν εἰς δέκα.*

There is no complete critical edition. Specimens of a critical text have been published by I. Bywater, *Vita Aristotelis*, Oxf. 1879, and by Usener, *Epicurea*, 1887, who gives an account of the chief MSS. p. vi sq. The chief MSS. seem to be in two groups. (1) **B**=Neapolitanus (Borbonicus) bibl. nat. gr. 253, 12th cent. **P** (which is almost a gemellus of **B**)=Paris. 1759, formerly in Cardinal Ridolfi's possession. **Q**=Paris. gr. 1758 (Fonteblandensis), 15th cent., is useful to determine the first hand of **P** before the intrusion of readings from the vulgate. **H**=Laurent. pl. 69. 35 is a later copy of **P** after the text had been so corrected. (2) This group is best represented by **F**=Laurent. pl. 69. 13, 12th cent., copied from a MS. which omitted i. 65—ii. 17. **B** is the main authority for the text but **F** is often useful. There are a number of late interpolated MSS. (e. g. Vat. 1302) which sometimes contain felicitous emendations by the humanists. The critical value of the excerpts given by Suidas still remains to be investigated.

Ed. pr.: Basel, 1533.

DIONYSIUS of Halicarnassus (under Augustus).

(1) *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* in 20 bks. (1–9, 10–11, and fragments extant). Rhetorical writings. (2) *τέχνη ῥητορική.* (3) *περὶ συνθέσεως ὀνομάτων.* (4) *περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων ὑπομνηματισμοί* (first half only). (5) *περὶ τῆς λεκτικῆς Δημοσθένους δεινότητος.* (6) *ἐπιστολαὶ πρὸς Ἀμμαῖον (α′,β′).* (7) *ἐπ. πρὸς Γναῖον Πομπήιον.* (8) *περὶ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου χαρακτῆρος.* (9) *περὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου ἰδιωμάτων.* (10) *περὶ Δεινάρχου.* (11) *περὶ μιμήσεως*, originally in 3 bks. Fragments of bk. i survive and an abstract of bk. ii entitled *τῶν ἀρχαίων κρίσις.*

For (1) the best MSS. in bks. 1–10 are **F**=Urbinas 106, 10th cent. **A**=Chisianus 58, 10th cent. For bk. 11 the MSS. are late: e.g. **L**=Laurentianus plut. 70. 5, 15th cent. Excerpts in the Constantine Excerpts and in **M**=Ambrosianus Q. 13, 15th cent. The work was originally arranged in sets of 5 bks. (*pentades*, cf. p. 8). For the *scripta minora* there are traces of three ancient editions: I. in **P**=Parisinus 1741, 11th cent., containing (2), (3), and (6 β′). II. **F**=Laurent. 59. 15, 12th cent., containing (3), (4), 10. III. A number of MSS., e.g. **M**=Ambrosianus D. 119 sup., 15th cent., containing (4), (7), (8), (9), (5), (6 α′). The text of (3) exhibits two distinct recensions.

Ed. pr.: *History* in R. Stephanus, Paris, 1546–1547.

Scripta minora were published in other works at intervals from 1493–1586. 1493 chapter on Isocrates (4) in ed. pr. of Isocrates; 1502 (9) in ed. pr. of Thucydides; 1508 (2), (3), (9) in vol. i of Aldus, *Rhetores Graeci*; 1513 Lysias (4) in ed. pr.; in 1547 all these were reprinted by R. Stephanus in his ed. pr. of the History; 1554 H. Stephanus added the introduction to (4), (7), and Ep. to Ammaeus on Demosth. and Aristotle; 1580 P. Victorius printed the chapters on Isaeus and Dinarchus from (4); 1586 F. Sylburgius printed a complete collection of all the opuscula.

Index in J. Hudson's ed., Oxford, 1704; Glossary to (6) and (7) in Roberts' ed., Cambridge, 1901.

EPICEDION DRUSI, or *Consolatio ad Liuiam.*

A poem printed in the ed. Romana of Ovid's works in 1471. The existing MSS. are only copies of this edition. M. Haupt, Op. i. 315, regarded it as a forgery made by some scholar of the Renaissance. The tendency of later criticism has been to attribute it to some anonymous poet of the Augustan age.

EPICTETUS, s. v. ARRIANUS.

EURIPIDES (circ. 480–406 B.C.).

Nineteen tragedies, of these the Κύκλωψ is a satyric drama. The Ῥῆσος is regarded as spurious.

The MSS. fall into two groups:

I. **M**=Marcianus 471, 12th cent. Contains *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Andr.*, *Hipp.* to v. 1234. **A**=Parisinus 2712, 13th cent. Contains *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Andr.*, *Med.*, *Hipp.* (=Cod. A in Aris-

tophanes and in Sophocles). **V**=Vaticanus 909, 13th cent. Contains *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Med.*, *Hipp.*, *Alc.*, *Andr.*, *Troad.*, *Rhes.* **B**=Parisinus 2713, 13th cent. Contains *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Hipp.*, *Med.*, *Alc.*, *Andr.*

II. **L**=Laurentianus 32. 2, 14th cent. Contains all extant plays except the *Troades* and *Bacch.* 756 sqq. **P**=Palatinus 287 +Laurentianus 172, 14th cent. The Palatine portion contains *Andr.*, *Med.*, *Suppl.*, *Rhes.*, *Ion*, *Iph. T.*, *Iph. A.* [*Danae*, a spurious fragment by some Renaissance scholar], *Hipp.*, *Alc.*, *Troad.*, *Bacch.*, *Heraclid.* to v. 1002. The Laurentian (sometimes called G) *Heraclid.* from v. 1003, *Herc.*, *Hel.*, *Elect.*, *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.* **P** (but not G) belonged to Marcus Musurus who used it in preparing the Aldine.

Of the inferior MSS. the best are: **O**= Laurentianus 31. 10, 14th cent. **D**=Laurentianus 31. 15, 14th cent. (=Γ in Aristophanes).

The 'Byzantine' codd. contain a selection of three plays—*Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*—made in the 14th century, and are of no value.

Kirchhoff rejected the second class as interpolated. This has been shown to be untrue by Wilamowitz in *Analecta Euripidea*, 1875.

The first class **M A V B** represents an early selection of ten plays (*Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Hipp.*, *Med.*, *Alc.*, *Andr.*, *Rhes.*, *Troad.*, *Bacch.*) made by some unknown scholar about the 3rd cent. A.D. No plays outside this group are quoted by writers later than Philostratus of Lemnos, who lived under Sept. Severus (A.D. 193–211). This selection was fully annotated. The *Bacchae* with its scholia was subsequently lost. Nine plays out of this selection survive in one or more MSS. of the first class. Of these **M** is the best, but **A** and **V**, although they are rarely the sole authorities for a right reading, greatly strengthen the testimony of **M**. **B** is valuable for its scholia and for a number of good variants which support **M**. **O** and **D** agree mostly with **B**, but sometimes with **M**. They are accordingly useful where **M** and **B** fail or their readings give ground for suspicion.

At a later date, but while the selection still contained the *Bacchae*, another unknown scholar added to it nine other plays (*Hel.*, *Elect.*, *Herc.*, *Heraclid.*, *Cycl.*, *Ion*, *Suppl.*, *Iph. A.*, *Iph. T.*) which had survived from some complete unannotated edition—

probably that of Aristophanes of Byzantium. When adding these nine unannotated plays he discarded the scholia belonging to the ten plays of the selection.

L is descended from a copy of this composite edition in which the *Troades* and *Bacchae* 756–end were missing. In the nine unannotated plays (*Hel.—Iph. A.*) **P** is either copied from **L** or closely related to it. In the first ten plays **P** is influenced by the tradition preserved in MSS. of the first class as well as by **L**, e. g. in *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.*, *Andr.* it tends to agree with **M A V**, in *Rhes.*, *Alc.* with **L**.

The *papyri* (e. g. Achmîm papyrus of *Rhesus*, 4/5th cent. A.D.) stand midway between the two classes of MSS. The divergence in tradition in the plays common to both classes cannot accordingly be of great antiquity.

The scholia are best preserved in **M B V** and in a late MS. Neapolitanus II. F. 41, 15th cent. They contain fragments of the learning of Aristarchus, Callistratus, Crates, Didymus, and refer to later scholars such as Irenaeus (*Med.* 218) and Dionysius. Edition by E. Schwartz, Berlin, 1887. Discussed by Wilamowitz, *Herakles*, i, pp. 199 sqq. There are *Byzantine* scholia by Thomas Magister, Moschopulus, and Triclinius upon *Hec.*, *Or.*, *Phoen.* These are of little value.

Ed. pr. by Ianus Lascaris, Florence, 1494 (?), containing only *Med.*, *Hipp.*, *Alc.*, *Andr.* v. Legrand, *Bibl. Hellén.* i. 40. All except *Elect.* in Aldine ed. by Marcus Musurus, 1503. The *Elect.* first printed by Victorius, Rome, 1545.

Index: C. and B. Matthiae, Lexicon A–Γ, Leipzig, 1841; C. D. Beck, Cambridge, 1829.

EUTROPIUS (under Emp. Valens, 364–378), author of a compendium of Roman history in 10 bks. entitled 'Breuiarium ab urbe condita'.

Two separate archetypes: (1) seen in the Greek translation of Paeanius, a contemporary; (2) in the extant MSS. which fall into two groups—(A) best represented by **G**=Gothanus 101, 9th cent., a lost Fuldensis (**F**) used by Sylburg, and a lost MS. used by Paulus Diaconus; (B) an inferior group descended ultimately from the same archetype as (A) but presenting a 'corrected' text, e. g. **O**=Audomarensis 697, 10/11th cent., and Leidensis 141, 10th cent.

Ed. pr.: [G. Laver], Rome, 1471.

Index in Delphin ed. (Anna Fabri); Havercamp, 1729.

Festus, s. v. Verrius Flaccus.

L. Annaeus **FLORUS** (fl. circ. A.D. 137).

Epitomae de Tito Liuio bellorum omnium annorum DCCC, lib. ii. Two main sources: (1) **B**=Bambergensis, E. iii. 22, 9th cent.; (2) **N**=Nazarianus-Heidelbergensis 894, 9th cent. The inferior MSS. are still *sub iudice.*

Ed. pr.: [Paris, 1470–2].

Index in Delphin ed. (Anna Fabri), 1674.

Sextus Iulius **FRONTINUS** (circ. A.D. 41–103).

(1) Gromatic work, preserved only in excerpts; (2) *Strategemata* in 3 bks., bk. 4 is spurious; (3) *De aquis urbis Romae*, in 2 bks.

(1) For tradition v. s. *Agrimensores.* (2) Depends on two classes of MSS., (*a*) best represented by **H**=Harleianus 2666, 9/10th cent.; (*b*) by **P**=Parisinus 7240, 10/11th cent. (3) All MSS. are copies of Casinensis 361, ? 11th cent.

Edd. pr.: (2) Rome, 1487; (3) J. Sulpitius, Rome, 1486.

Index to (2) in Oudendorp, 1779; to (3) in Polenus, 1722.

M. Cornelius **FRONTO** (circ. A.D. 100–175).

Letters to the Emperors Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and other correspondents, together with a few rhetorical writings, are preserved in a palimpsest codex once belonging to the monastery of Bobbio. The fragments are at Milan (in the Ambrosian) and at Rome (Vat. 5750), where they were found by Mai and published in 1815 and 1823. The Ambrosian portion consists of 141 leaves, the Vatican of 53. The codex belongs to the 6th cent. and was used in the 10th cent. for a text of the Speeches of Symmachus, the Scholia Bobiensia on Cicero's speeches, and for various classical and theological fragments. The Frontonian text has the subscription: 'Caecilius saepe rogatus legi emendaui.'

Gellius, s. v. Aulus Gellius.

Claudius Caesar **GERMANICUS** (15 B.C.—A.D. 19), nephew of Tiberius.

(1) Translation of Aratus' *Φαινόμενα* (725 hex.); (2) and of his *Prognostica* (fragments).

MSS. are in two classes: (1) the best, in which the fourth fragment of the *Prognostica* follows after *Phaenom.* 582. To this class belong **A**=Basileensis A. N. iv. 18, 8 9th cent.; **B**=Berolinensis-Phillippicus 1832, 9/10th cent. (2) The inferior family which exhibits interpolations from the Aratea of Avienus, e. g. Bononiensis 5 (Boulogne) 18, 10th cent., and **L**=the Susianus=Leidensis-Vossianus L. Q. 79, a MS. of the 9th cent. famous for its illustrations.

Scholia to the *Phaenomena* in (1) Basileensis and (2) Sangermanensis 778, 9th cent. These two sources are combined in the Strozzianus, 14th cent. (now in the Laurentian Lib. Florence).

Ed. pr.: in *Manilius* Bologna, 1474.

Index in A. Breysig's ed., Teubner, 1899.

GRATTIUS. *Cynegetica* (541 hexameters).

A=Vindobonensis siue Sannazarianus 277, 9th cent., from which all others are derived.

Ed. pr. (with Halieutica of Ovid and other works): Venice, 1534.

Index in M. Haupt's ed. of Halieutica, Leipzig, 1838.

AD HERENNIUM, s. v. RHETORICA AD H.

RHETORICA AD HERENNIUM (attributed to Cornificius), 4 bks. (circa 86–82 B.C.).

There are two classes of MSS.: (1) the older, called by Marx class **M**, mutilated at the beginning of bk. 1, best represented by Herbipolitanus Mp. misc. f. 2, 9th cent. **P**=Parisinus 7714, 9th cent. **B**=Bernensis 433, 9/10th cent. **C**=Petropolitanus-Corbeiensis, 9/10th cent. (2) A younger class known as **E**, with text entire, e. g. **b**=Bambergensis 423, 11/13th cent. Leidensis (Gronovianus) 22, 12th cent. Darmstadiensis 2283, 12/13th cent.

Ed. pr.: together with the *De Inuentione* of Cicero, Venice, 1470. The text, published with the Rhetorical writings of Cicero at Venice in 1514, is founded on a lost MS.

Index in F. Marx' ed., Leipzig, 1890.

HERODOTUS (circ. 480–425 B.C.).

History in 9 bks. **A**=Laurentianus 70. 3, 10th cent. **B**=Angelicanus 83, 11th cent. **C**=Laurentianus conv. soppr. 207, 11th cent. **E**=excerpts in Parisinus suppl. 134, 13th cent., possibly copied from a MS. of 10th cent. **P**=Parisinus 1633,

14th cent. **R**=Vaticanus 123, 14th cent. (paper). Bk. 5 is missing. **S**=Sancroftianus, Emmanuel College Cambr. 30, 14th cent. **V**=Vindobonensis 85 (Gr. hist. profan. 1), 14th cent.

The MSS., which are all to be referred to the same archetype, since all have the interpolated chapter viii. 104, fall into two groups: (1) the Florentine, headed by **A**; (2) the Roman = **BRSV**. **C** and **P** are of little value, **C** belonging on the whole to (1), while **P** has a mixed text.

Both groups are needed as authorities for the text. The Florentine is superior, but the Roman is often in agreement with the quotations made by grammarians and other ancient writers.

There are papyri from Oxyrhynchus (at Munich) containing i. 115–116 and other fragments of bk. 1.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, Venice, 1502.

Index: J. Schweighaeuser, Strassburg, 1824; Jacobitz, *Specimen lexici*, Leipzig, 1870.

HERO(N)DAS (circ. 300–250 B.C.).

Eight mimes and fragments in Brit. Mus. Papyrus no. 135, 1st/2nd cent. A.D.

Ed. pr.: Kenyon, 1891.

Index in Bücheler's ed., Bonn, 1892.

HESIOD (? 700 B.C.).

(1) Θεογονία (1022 hexameters). (2) Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι (828). (3) Ἀσπὶς Ἡρακλέους (480). Its authenticity was doubted in antiquity.

(1) *Θεογονία.*

MSS. I. **Papyri**: **A**=Parisinus Suppl. Gr. 1099, 4/5th cent. (contains vv. 74–145). **B** = Brit. Mus. clix, 4th cent. (210–238, 260–270). **R**=Vindobon. biblioth. Caes. L. P. 21–29 (Archduke Rainer's Collection), 4th cent. (626–881). Also contains part of Ἀσπίς and Ἔργα. II. **Codd.** fall into two main groups: (Ω) **C**=Fragments in Paris. suppl. Gr. 663 (from Athos), 12th cent., vv. 72–145, 450–504. **D**=Laurentianus 32. 16, 13th cent. **E**=Laur. conv. soppress. 158, 14th cent. **F**=Paris. 2833, 15th cent. **G**=Vaticanus 915, 14th cent. **H**=Parisinus 2772, 14th cent. **I**=Laurent. xxxi. 32, 15th cent. (Ψ) **K**=Venetus Marcianus ix. 6, 14th cent. **L**=Paris. 2708, 15th cent.

All the codd. are held to be descended from one archetype, whose text is preserved best in the Ω-group. It is not possible, however, to dispense with the Ψ-group, whose readings are sometimes superior, e.g. v. 31 *δρέψασαι* where Ω has *δρέψασθαι*. Of the Ω-group **D** is the best. Closely akin to it are the two fragments **C**, part of a MS. written on Mt. Athos. **E** and **F** are copies of the same original.

The papyri generally support the best MSS.

There are two inferior recensions which occasionally restore or preserve a right reading: **x**=Casanatensis 356, 14th cent., and two others, e.g. 635 *χόλον θυμαλγέ' ἔχοντες* **x**: *μάχην θ. ἔχ.* **P Ω Ψ**. **t**=Recension of Triclinius extant in his autograph copy, Marcianus 464, 14th cent.

(2) *Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι.*

MSS. I. **Papyri**: **A**=Rainer papyrus (**R** in Theogony q.v.). **B**=Genevensis bibl. publ. pap. 94. Restores 4 lines after v. 169 which were apparently ejected by some ancient critic. II. **Codd.** fall into 3 classes in which the chief representatives are: (1) **C**=Paris. 2771, 11th cent. (2) **D**=Laurent. 31. 39, 12th cent. Of the codd. of this group **I**=Laur. 32. 16 (**D** in Theogony) contains good readings. E.g. 262 *παρκλίνωσι* confirmed by **A**. (3) **E**=Messanius bibl. universit. 11 (now destroyed), 12/13th cent.

The evidence for the text of the *Ἔργα* is of very high quality. The first two groups of MSS. represent the same recension. Triclinius appears to have used a MS. of the **D**-group for his recension (Marcianus 464). The third class, headed by **E**, seems to represent a Byzantine recension whose readings or corrections are occasionally of value.

(3) *Ἀσπίς.*

MSS. I. **Papyri**: **A**=Rainer papyrus (cf. Theog. and *Ἔργα*). II. **Codd.**: (**Ω a**) **B**=Paris. suppl. Gr. 663 (=**C** in Theog.), 12th cent., contains vv. 75–298. **C**=vv. 87–138, another fragment in the same MS. **D**=Ambrosianus C. 222 inf., 13th cent. **F**=Paris. 2773, 14th cent. (**Ω b**) **G**=Paris. 2772, 14th cent. (=**H** in Theog.). **H**=Laur. 31. 32, 15th cent. (=**I** in Theog.). **I**=Harleian. 5724, 15th cent. (**Ψ a**) **E**=Laurent. 32. 16, 13th cent. (=**D** in Theog.). (**Ψ b**) **K**=Casanatensis 356, 14th cent. (=**x**

in Theog.). **L**=Laur. conv. soppress. 158, 14th cent. (=**E** in Theog.). **M**=Paris. 2833, 15th cent. (=**F** in Theog.).

All codd. are ultimately derived from the same archetype. They fall into two groups Ω and Ψ. In the Ω-group the Ambrosian **D** is of the greatest importance. The other MSS. of this group, **G H I**, present a somewhat inferior text. After the Ambrosian **D** the most valuable MS. is **E** of the Ψ-group. The remaining members of this group are of little real importance.

Ed. pr.: Ἔργα, printed with 18 Idylls of Theocritus, without printer's name, place, or year. As the work is printed with the same type as the Milan Isocrates of 1493, it is conjectured that it was produced at Milan about that date. First complete edition published by Aldus, 1495.

Index: Paulson, Lund, 1890.

HESYCHIUS of Alexandria (5th cent. A.D.).

A lexicon of noteworthy (λέξεις) or rare (γλῶσσαι) words.

There is only one MS., viz. Marcianus 522, 15th cent., which was used by Aldus for the ed. pr., Venice, 1514 (cf. p. 105).

HOMER.

(A) Ancient Epics: (1) Ἰλιάς, 24 bks. (2) Ὀδύσσεια, 24 bks.

(B) Late works: (1) Ἐπιγράμματα preserved in the pseudo-Herodotean life of Homer. (2) Ὕμνοι (34). (3) Βατραχομυομαχία.

The Epics differ from almost all other texts in the problem which they present. Other texts must ultimately be derived from an archetype written or corrected by the author, and the restoration of this archetype is the legitimate aim of criticism. But no such archetype can be reasonably supposed to lie behind the Homeric poems. For though the art of writing was not unknown at the time of their composition, yet it can hardly be doubted that they must long have been propagated by oral transmission. The main facts proved by documentary evidence are: (1) a vulgate text (ἡ κοινή, αἱ δημώδεις) at least as early as the age of Plato, and derived by some from a recension supposed to have been made by order of Pisistratus. (2) 'Wild' or 'Eccentric' texts containing many interpolated lines. Such texts were formerly known from the quotation in Aeschines, *Timarchus* 149, and are now amply attested by recent discoveries of papyri (Grenfell and Hunt, *Hibeh Papyri*, i, No. 19). (3) The

critical editions of the Alexandrine scholars. Though much is still obscure in the relations which exist between these three types of text, it seems now fairly certain (1) that they were for a considerable period rivals of one another; (2) that the vulgate ultimately ousted the Eccentric texts owing to the support which it received from the Alexandrines, who founded their own texts on the best copies of the vulgate that they could procure; (3) that in the main the vulgate still survives in our MS. tradition, influenced in its readings, though not to any considerable extent, by the Alexandrine editions. The idea first started by Wolf that the Aristarchic text was the parent of the text which is presented by the MSS. is now surrendered. The MSS. contain many readings that are known to have been rejected by Aristarchus.

An editor therefore who bases his recension on the documentary evidence must aim either at (1) the restoration of the vulgate as given in the best MSS., or (2) the reconstruction of the Alexandrine text, i. e. substantially the diorthosis of Aristarchus. For this the evidence at present at hand is hardly sufficient. Most editors merge the two aims together and produce an eclectic text.

From the time of Bentley, however, it has been seen that the documentary evidence represents only one stage in the history of the text of the Epics. Language, metre, folklore, and archaeology have been invoked to supply a number of delicate tests by which distinct stages in the growth of the tradition are revealed. But, as W. Leaf has said, 'The task of producing a really archaic text, if possible, is entirely distinct from the collection of diplomatic evidence' (*Class. Rev.* 1892, p. 12), and though such reconstructions are a proper concern of specialists, the ordinary reader must necessarily wish to have the poems in the form in which they were known to the Greeks of the classical period.

For this there is the following evidence in the *Iliad*:

(1) **Papyri,** many of which are as early as the 3rd cent. B. C. (e. g. Brit. Mus. Pap. 689 A). They often present the 'eccentric' texts noticed above.

(2) **Codices.** The oldest complete codices are: **A** = Venetus-Marcianus 454, 10/11th cent., containing the Alexandrine signs prefixed to the lines of the text and scholia which are excerpted

from works on the Aristarchean recension by Aristonicus and Didymus, who lived under Augustus; from Herodian, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, and from Nicanor a contemporary of Hadrian. **B** = Ven.-Marc. 453, 11th cent. **C** = Laurentianus 32. 3, 11th cent. **D** = Laur. 32. 15, 10/11th cent.

The remaining MSS. are arranged by Allen in 17 families, of which the most noteworthy is **h**, consisting of Lipsiensis 1275, 14th cent., **L** = Vindobonensis 5, 14/15th cent., and others. These contain more Alexandrine readings than are found in other groups. Whether this is due to accident or to a deliberate recension is uncertain. There are fragmentary codices of early date:—**Θ** = Ambrosianus pictus, 5/6th cent. **Σ** = Syriacus rescriptus, Brit. Mus. Add. 17. 210, 6/7th cent. Of the codices containing scholia the most important after **A** and **B** are **T** = Townleianus, Brit. Mus. Burney 86, 11th cent.; **Ge** = Genevensis 44, 13th cent.

In the *Odyssey*:

(1) **Papyri**, of which the earliest is Hibeh 23, 3rd cent. B.C.

(2) **Codices** (all minuscule) are very numerous. They are arranged by Allen in 17 groups. The oldest codices are: $\mathbf{L}^4$ (or **G**) = Laurent. 32. 24, 10/11th cent. $\mathbf{L}^8$ (or **F**) = Laurent. conv. soppr. 52, 11th cent. **Pal.** (or **P**) = Palatinus 45, A.D. 1201 (at Heidelberg), with scholia. $\mathbf{H}^3$ (or **H**) = Harleianus 5674, 13th cent., with scholia.

Ed. pr. by Demetrius Chalcondylas [B. and N.T. Nerlius, Florence], 1488.

Index: Gehring, Leipzig, 1891; Ebeling, *Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1885–1888; Prendergast, *Iliad*, London, 1875; Dunbar, *Odyssey, and Hymns*, Oxford, 1880.

Homeric Hymns, preserved either along with the Epics or in selections from poets such as Callimachus, Pindar, Theocritus. Among 34 hymns attributed to Homer there are only five of any considerable length, viz. (1) **Εἰς Δημήτραν** (contained in the Mosquensis alone v. *infra*). (2) **Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα.** (3) **Εἰς Ἑρμῆν.** (4) **Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην.** (5) **Εἰς Διόνυσον.**

All MSS. are descended from the same archetype, which must have presented a number of alternative readings.

The best account of the condition of the text is given in the edition of Allen and Sikes, 1904. The codices, 28 in number, fall

into three groups. (1) **M**=Leidensis (Mosquensis) 18. 33 H, 14th cent., a mutilated MS. found in 1777 by C. F. Matthaei in the library of the synod, Moscow. (2) **x**=a group of 10 MSS. more or less closely related, among which are **E**=Estensis 164. 3. E. 11, 15th cent., and **T**=Matritensis 4562. 24, A.D. 1464 (cf. Callimachus). (3) **p**=a group of 14 inferior MSS. which often preserve a superior reading. The superiority of **M** is undoubted.

Ed. pr.: Chalcondylas, Florence, 1488, evidently printed from a MS. of the **x** family.

Index: Gehring, Leipzig, 1895; Dunbar, Oxford, 1880.

(3) *Βατραχομυομαχία*. Numerous MSS. of which the oldest are Bodleianus-Baroccianus 50, 10/11th cent., and Laurent. 32. 3, 11th cent.

Ed. pr. 1488 (*supra*). Some believe that an earlier edition is in the Rylands library.

Index in Ludwich's ed., Leipzig, 1896.

Q. **HORATIUS** FLACCUS (65 B.C.–A.D. 8).

1. *Carmina* (4 bks.) and *Carmen Saeculare*. 2. *Epodes*. 3. *Sermones*. 4. *Epistulae* and *Ars Poetica*.

There are about 250 MSS. The best date from the 9/11th cent. The keystone of criticism is **V**=the Blandinianus, the oldest of the four MSS. discovered by Cruquius. They were destroyed in 1566 and the readings of **V** are known only from C.'s editions, 1565–1578. His good faith has been questioned but is generally upheld. **V** was probably written in Irish cursive (Winterfeld, *Rh. Mus.* 1905, p. 32). It alone contained the reading 'Campum lusumque trigonem' in *S.* i. 6. 126. Of the other MSS. the chief are: **A**=Parisinus 7900 (Puteaneus), 10th cent., with its gemellus **a**=Ambros. 136, 10th cent. **B**=Bernensis 363 (Bongarsianus), circ. A.D. 860. **C**=Monacensis 14685, 11th cent. **D**=Argentoratensis c. vii. 7, 9th cent., burnt in 1870. **E**=a MS. of the 11th cent. bound up with **C**. **δ**=Harleian. 2725, 9th cent. **πφψ**=Parisini 10310 (9/10th cent.), 7974, 7971 (both 10th cent.). Keller and Holder posit three classes; Leo and Vollmer only two, which they regard as derived from one archetype. (1) **ABCDE**, (2) **δπφψ**.

Scholia: (1) by Pomponius Porphyrio, a grammarian of the 3rd cent., (2) attributed to Acro, (3) the *Commentator Cruquianus*, i.e. scholia collected from V and other MSS. by Cruquius.

Eight MSS. (including **A**) exhibit the subscription of Mavortius (consul in A. D. 527) after the *Epodes*. 'Vettius Agorius Basilius Mauortius u(ir) c(larissimus) et in(lustrissimus) ex com(ite) dom(estico), ex cons(ule) ord(inario) legi et ut potui emendaui conferente mihi magistro Felice oratore urbis Romae.'

Ed. pr.: c. 1471 (place unknown).

Index in Orelli-Mewes, 1889; Keller-Holder, 1864–1869.

HYPERIDES (389–322 B. C.).

Six speeches are known from fragmentary papyri.

Harris and Arden papyrus, 1st cent. A. D., containing Κατὰ Δημοσθένους, Ὑπὲρ Λυκόφρονος, Ὑπὲρ Εὐξενίππου, discovered in 1847, Stobart papyrus, 2nd cent. A. D., containing Ἐπιτάφιος in 1856, all now in Brit. Mus.; Révillout papyrus, 2nd cent. B. C., of the Κατὰ Ἀθηνογένους published in 1889; Brit. Mus. papyrus, 1st cent. A.D., of the Κατὰ Φιλιππίδου published in 1891.

Index in Blass' ed., Leipzig, 1894; A. Westermann, Leipzig, 1860–1863.

Flavius **IOSEPHUS** (A. D. 37–c. 100).

(1) Ἰουδαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία, 20 bks. (2) Περὶ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου, 7 bks. (3) Κατὰ Ἀπίωνος, 2 bks. (4) Φλαουίου Ἰωσήπου βίος. [(5) Εἰς Μακκαβαίους, spurious.]

(1) For first 10 bks. the best MSS. are: **R**=Paris. 1421, 14th cent. **O**=Bodleianus miscell. Gr. 186, 15th cent. **M**=Marcianus Gr. 381, 13th cent. For last 10 bks.: **P**=Palatinus Vaticanus 14, 9/10th cent. (bks. 18–20 missing). **F**=Laurentianus pl. 69. 20, 14th cent. (bks. 1–15). **L**=Leidensis F. 13, 11/12th cent. (bks. 11–15). **A**=Ambros. F. 128, 11th cent. **M**=Laurentianus pl. 69. 10, 15th cent. These fall into groups: (1) **P F**, (2) **L** being midway, (3) **A M**. *Epitome* preserved in Berol.-Phillipp. 222 and other MSS.

(2) **P**=Parisinus 1425, 10/11th cent. **A**=Ambros. D. sup. 50, 10/11th cent. **V**=Vat. 148, 11th cent. **R**=Vat.-Pal. 284, 11/12th cent. **C**=Vat.-Urb. 84, 11th cent. These are grouped as: (1) **P A**, (2) **V R C**, with a number of MSS. midway between these.

(3) Laurentianus pl. 69. 22, from which all other MSS. are descended.

(4) **P A M** as in (1).

Ed. pr.: by Arlenius, Basel, 1544.

ISAEUS (fl. 390–350 B. C.).

Eleven λόγοι κληρικοί.

The only authorities are **A**=Crippsianus, Brit. Mus. Burney 95, 13th cent., and **Q**=Ambrosianus D. 42 sup., a paper MS. 14th (?) cent., a MS. greatly inferior to **A** though it sometimes preserves the right reading. Several 15th cent. MSS. once thought to be independent are now proved to be descendants of **A**.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1513, in *Orationes Rhet. Graec.*

Index of selected words in Wyse's ed., Cambridge, 1904; T. Mitchell, Oxford, 1828.

ISOCRATES (436–338 B. C.).

(1) Πρὸς Δημόνικον. (2) Πρὸς Νικοκλέα. (3) Νικοκλῆς. (4) Πανηγυρικός. (5) Φίλιππος. (6) Ἀρχίδαμος. (7) Ἀρεοπαγιτικός. (8) Περὶ Εἰρήνης. (9) Εὐαγόρας. (10) Ἑλένη. (11) Βούσιρις. (12) Παναθηναϊκός. (13) Κατὰ τῶν Σοφιστῶν. (14) Πλαταϊκός. (15) Περὶ ἀντιδόσεως. (16) Περὶ τοῦ ζεύγους. (17) Τραπεζιτικός. (18) Παραγραφὴ πρὸς Καλλίμαχον. (19) Αἰγινητικός. (20) Κατὰ Λοχίτου. (21) Πρὸς Εὐθύνουν ἀμάρτυρος. (22) Ἐπιστολαί.

MSS. in two groups: (1) Integri. **Γ**=Urbinas 111, 9/10th cent., and some MSS. akin to it such as **Δ**=Vat. 936, 14th cent. (2) A group which is mutilated in the *Antidosis*, §§ 72–310, e. g. **Θ**=Laurent. 87. 14, 13th cent.; and **Λ**=Vatic. 65, A. D. 1063. Most of the late MSS. are copied from **Λ**. There is little need for conjecture owing to the excellence of **Γ**. The papyrus fragments provide a number of new, but not important, readings and show that the readings of **Γ** are not invariably to be preferred.

Ed. pr.: of *Speeches*—Demetrius Chalcondylas, Milan, 1493; of the *Epistles*—Aldus, Epistolae Diversorum, Venice, 1499. The vulgate text in use till the 19th cent. was based on H. Wolf's edition, Basel, 1553.

Index: Preuss, Leipzig, 1904.

DECIMUS IUNIUS **IUVENALIS** (circ. A. D. 62–after 128).

Sixteen satires in 5 bks. The principal MS. is **P**=Montepessulanus-Pithoeanus 125, 9th cent. Its original readings have been much altered by later hands. There are fragmentary sources similar to **P** in the *Scidae Arouienses*, 10/11th cent., and the *Florilegium Sangallense* (cod. Sang. 870), 9th cent.

ω=the great mass of MSS., which offer an inferior text, though their evidence cannot be wholly disregarded. Three of these have the *subscriptio* of Nicaeus: 'Legi ego Niceus apud M. Serbium Rome et emendaui.' The earliest evidence for the text is the *palimpsestus Bobiensis* (Vat. 5750), ? 4th cent., which contains xiv. 323–xv. 43. Its text is not noticeably good. It supports **P** at one time and ω at another.

One of the vulgar MSS. **O**=Oxoniensis Bodl. Canon. xli, written in a Beneventan hand in the 11th cent., contains 36 verses of Sat. vi, which are not found in any other MS., viz. 34 lines between 365 and 366, and 2 between 373 and 374.

Scholia: The most ancient scholia are preserved in **P** and in Sangallensis 870. Scholia of a similar character are quoted by G. Valla in his edition of 1486, and are ascribed by him to a grammarian named Probus. The scholia preserved in the ordinary MSS. and known as the *Expositio Cornuti* are of little value.

Ed. pr.: Rome, Ulrich Han, circ. 1470, or De Spira, Venice, 1470.

Index: Friedländer's ed., Leipzig, 1895.

LAUS PISONIS.

First published by Johannes Sichard in his edition of Ovid, Basel, 1527, apparently from a codex found at Lorsch which is now lost. There are excerpts in an Anthology preserved in two Paris MSS. 7647 (9th cent.) and 17903 (13th cent.). It is attributed by some to Calpurnius Siculus.

GRANIUS **LICINIANUS** (2nd cent. A. D.).

Historian; his work is little more than an epitome of Livy. Fragments known only from the British Museum palimpsestus ter scriptus (Add. MSS. 17212)—the text of L. lying beneath that of a grammatical treatise over which a Syriac translation of Chrysostom has been written.

TITUS **LIVIUS** (59 B. C.–A. D. 17).

Ab urbe condita libri, in 142 bks., arranged in decades: 35 bks. survive, viz. 1–10, 21–45. Each decade has its own tradition.

FIRST DECADE. All MSS. with the exception of the Veronese palimpsest, bibl. capitularis Veronensis 40, 4th cent. (containing fragments of bks. 3–6), descend from a copy written perhaps in

the south of France, of recensions made by Nicomachus Dexter (3–5), Nicomachus Flavianus, circ. 402–410 (6, 7, 8), and Victorianus (1–10), who lived considerably later. The MSS. which combine these recensions fall into three groups: (1) **M**=Mediceus-Laurentianus 63. 19, 11th cent., and a lost Vormaciensis known in part from Rhenanus' text. (2) **P**=Paris. 5725 (Colbertinus), **F**=Par. 5724 (Floriacensis), both of the 10th cent. **U**=Upsaliensis, 11th cent. (3) **R**=Vaticanus 3329 (Romanus), 11th cent. **D**=Florentinus-Marcianus 326 (Dominicanus), 12th cent., and others, to which **O**=Bodleianus 20631, 11th cent., has been recently added by W. C. F. Walters. In the MSS. all bks. have the subscription: 'Victorianus u.c. emendabam domnis Symmachis.' Bks. 6, 7, 8 join with it the further subscription, 'Nicomachus Flauianus u. c. III praef. urbis emendaui apud Hennam.' Bks. 3, 4, 5 add, 'Nicomachus dexter u. c. emendaui ad exemplum parentis mei Clementiani.'

Third Decade. **P**=Paris. 5730, 5th cent. (Puteaneus), revised at Avellino near Naples in 6th cent., with its descendants, e. g. **R**=Vatic. Reg. 762, 9th cent.; **C**=Par. 5731 (Colbertinus), 10/11th cent.; **M**=Mediceus-Laurent. 63. 20, 11th cent., was long thought to be the sole authority for this decade. For the second half, however, the lost *Spirensis*, 11th cent. (known from variants preserved by Rhenanus in the Basel ed. of 1535 and from a leaf discovered by Halm), is now recognized as an independent authority. The seven leaves of the *Turin palimpsest*, 5th cent., from Bobbio (containing parts of 27–29), are also independent and allied with the *Spirensis*. The object of criticism has been to find traces of this independent tradition in the inferior MSS., e. g. **H**=Harleianus 2684, 15th cent.; **V**=Vat. Pal. 876, 15th cent.

Fourth Decade. **B**=Bambergensis, 11th cent., contains as far as 38. 46: fragments of the uncial codex from which **B** was copied were found in 1907 at Bamberg. The lost Moguntinus (**M**) in insular script contained from 33. 17 to the end. It is known only from the Mainz edition of 1518 and the Basel ed. of 1535. There are many late MSS. which repeat and supplement the tradition of **B**. A fragment of a 5th cent. MS. survives in Vat. 10696.

Fifth Decade, bks. 41–45. The tradition depends wholly

on Vindob. 15, 5th cent. (Laurishamensis). Facsimile in Sijthoff's series, 1907.

A fragment of bk. 91 (Sertorian war) was discovered by Bruns in 1772 in Vat.-Pal. 24.

PERIOCHAE. These are summaries (often degenerating into mere tables of contents). They cover all the books except 136 and 137. The best MS. is Palatinus-Heidelbergensis 894 (Nazarianus), 9th cent. Fragments of a rival summary, 37–40 and 48–55, are preserved in a 3rd cent. papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (Grenfell and Hunt, 668).

Ed. pr.: Rome, circ. 1469 (omitting bks. 33 and 41–45).

Index: Fügner, Leipzig, 1897 (unfinished); Delphin ed. (Douiat), 1682.

[**LONGINUS**].

The treatise Περὶ ὕψους, ascribed to Longinus (3rd cent. A. D.), is now recognized to be an anonymous work of earlier date, probably belonging to the 1st cent. A. D.

The text depends on **P** = Parisinus 2036, 10th cent. All other MSS. are copies of this, with the possible exception of Paris. 985, 15th cent., which preserves a fragment (copied in Vat. 285) which is thought by some to indicate a different tradition.

Ed. pr. by F. Robortellus, Basel, 1554.

Index: R. Robinson in *Indices tres*, Oxford, 1772.

MARCUS ANNAEUS **LUCANUS** (A. D. 39–65).

Epic *de Bello Ciuili*, in 10 bks.

The principal MSS. are: **P** = Parisinus lat. 7502 (Colbertinus), 10th cent. **U** = Vossianus Leidensis xix, f. 63, with scholia, 10th cent. These two are closely related. **M** = Montepessulanus H. 113, 9/10th cent. **Z** = Parisinus lat. 10314, 9th cent., closely related to **M**. **V** = Vossianus Leid. xix, q. 51, 10th cent., with scholia.

Fragments of 4th cent. MSS. survive in **N** = a MS. from Bobbio of which leaves are at Vienna (Vind. 16) and at Naples (Neap. IV. A. 8); and **P** or Π = Vat.-Pal. 24, 4th cent. Beside the ordinary scholia there are the *Commenta Bernensia* contained in Bern. 370, of the 10th cent.

P U M Z and other MSS. contain the following *subscriptio* 'Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendaui manu mea solus'. Usener, *Rh. Mus.*, 1868, p. 497, conjectures that he was alive in 674. It is usual to assume (1) a Pauline family of MSS.; (2) an

earlier text, best represented by **V**, whose readings, however, have been intruded into the Pauline text. Neither of these groups can be neglected in the formation of a text. *Scholia* in **C**=Bernensis litt. 370, 10th cent., and **W**=Wallersteinensis I. 2, 11/12th cent.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1469.

Index in Oudendorp, 1728; Lemaire, 1830.

Titus **LUCRETIUS** Carus (died in 55 or 53 B.C.). Poem *De Rerum Natura* in 6 bks.

The text depends almost entirely on two MSS. at Leyden. **A**=Vossianus F. 30, 9th cent. (oblongus); **B**=Voss. Q. 94 (Quadratus, cited by Lambinus as Bertinianus), 9th cent. Besides these there are many late Italian MSS. all derived from a lost archetype brought to Italy from Germany by Poggio in 1414. A copy of this made by Nicoli is now Laurent. 35. 30 (Nicolianus). Fragments of 9th cent. MSS. survive at Copenhagen, Royal Library, no. 24 (Fragmentum Gottorpianum) and at Vienna (Schedae Vindobonenses, no. 107).

Ed. pr.: Brescia, circ. 1473.

Index: J. Paulson, Gothenburg, 1911.

LUCIAN (circ. A.D. 120—after 180).

Eighty-two separate writings, mostly in the form of Dialogues, are attributed to Lucian. The 53 epigrams attributed to him in the Anthology are probably by an author of the same name who lived in the 1st cent.

The best MSS. are: Γ=Vaticanus 90, 9/10th cent. **E**=Harleianus 5694, 9/10th cent. Φ=Laurentianus C. S. 77, 10th cent. Ω=Marcianus 434, 10/11th cent. **S**=Mutinensis 193, 11th cent. **B**=Vindobonensis 123, 11th cent. **U**=Vaticanus 1324, 11/12th cent. **L**=Laurentianus 57. 51, 11/12th cent. *Scholia* in Γ, Ε, Φ, **S**, Ω and Δ=Vat. gr. 1322, 13th cent.

Ed. pr.: Florence, 1496.

Index in J. F. Reitz's ed., Utrecht, 1743.

LYCOPHRON (fl. 274 B.C.), *Cassandra* or *Alexandra* (1474 iambic trimeters).

The best MS. is **M**=Marcianus 476, 11th cent., containing elaborate scholia, some of which are derived from the commentary of Theon, a grammarian of the age of Tiberius.

Ed. pr. of text, in Aldus' *Pindar*, Venice, 1513; of commentary, Basel (Oporinus), 1546.

Index in E. Scheer's ed., Berlin, 1881.

LYCURGUS (died circ. 326 B. C.).

One speech (against Leocrates). Same MS. tradition as the speeches of Andocides.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, *Orationes Rhet. Graec.*, 1513.

Index: Forman, Oxford, 1897; Kondratiew, Moscow, 1897.

LYSIAS (circ. 450–380 B. C.).

Thirty-four speeches. The authenticity of 6 (against Andocides) and 9 (Ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατιώτου) was doubted in antiquity: 8 (συνουσιαστικός) has been suspected by modern scholars on the ground that hiatus is avoided in it.

The text of the forensic speeches rests entirely on **X**=the Palatine codex, 12th cent. (Heidelbergensis 88). For the *Epitaphios* and the speech on the murder of Eratosthenes there is, besides **X**, what appears to be a separate tradition, best represented by **F**=Marcianus 416, 13th cent. The speech Κατὰ Διογείτονος survives in fragments preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and that against Theozotides in *Papyrus Hibeh*, i, no. 13.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, Venice, 1513, in *Orat. Rhet. Gr.*

Index: D. V. Holmes, Bonn, 1895.

MACROBIUS THEODOSIUS (fl. circ. A. D. 399).

(1) Commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. (2) *Saturnalia* (7 bks.). The end of bk. 2 and beginning of bk. 3, the second half of bk. 4 and the end of bk. 7 are lost.

P=Parisinus 6371, 11th cent. **B**=Bambergensis 873, 9th cent. (*Sat.* 1–3. 19. 5). **B**=Bambergensis 875 (*Somn. Scip.*). There are many inferior MSS. of the *Sat.* which omit the Greek passages.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1472.

M. **MANILIUS** (under Tiberius), *Astronomicon libri* v.

There are 22 MSS. extant. Of these only three are of prime value for the text. (1) **G**=Gemblacensis nunc Bruxellensis bibl. reg. 10012, 11th cent., and a kindred MS. **L**=Lipsiensis bibl. Paulin. 1465, 11th cent. (2) **M**=Matritensis M. 31, 15th cent., which contains also the *Siluae* of Statius. It is held to be a copy made for Poggio of a MS. which he discovered near

Constance in 1416–1417. **G** and **L** are badly interpolated, while **M**, though more sincere, is the work of a scribe whom Poggio describes as 'ignorantissimus omnium uiuentium'. The three MSS. are all descended from a common archetype.

Ed. pr.: Regiomontanus, Nuremberg, circ. 1472.

Index in Delphin ed. (M. Fayus or du Fay), 1679.

MARCUS AURELIUS, i. e. *Μάρκου Αντωνίνου αὐτοκράτορος τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν βιβλία ιβ'.* (12 bks.)

The Palatine codex on which Xylander based the editio princeps is now lost. The only complete MS. surviving is Vaticanus 1950, 14th cent., which is very corrupt. Fragments in Darmstadtinus 2773 (codex Creuzeri), 14th cent., and a large number of other MSS. from 13/15th cent.

Ed. pr.: Gul. Xylander, Zürich, 1559.

Index in J. Stich's ed., Leipzig, 1903.

M. Valerius **MARTIALIS** (circ. A. D. 40–104).

Epigrams, consisting of (1) *Liber Spectaculorum*, (2) *Epigrammaton libri* xii, (3) *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*.

The MSS. are very numerous and fall into three classes whose archetypes can be reconstructed with some probability. The first and best class (which alone contains the *Lib. Spect.*) consists of Florilegia or collections of Excerpts, viz. **H**=Vindobonense 277, 9th cent.; **T**=Parisinum-Thuaneum 8071, 9/10th cent.; **L**=Leidense-Vossianum Q. 86, 9th cent. (2) In the second class the typical MSS. are: **L**=Berolinensis-Lucensis Fol. 612, 12th cent.; **P**=Vaticanus-Palatinus 1696, 15th cent.; **Q**=Arundellianus Mus. Brit. 136, 15th cent. (3) Of the third the best examples are: **E**=Edinburgensis, 10th cent.; **X**=Parisinus-Puteaneus 8067, 10th cent.; **A**=Leidensis-Vossianus Q. 56, 11th cent.; **V**=Vaticanus 3294, 10th cent.

The archetypes of these three families are severally designated by the signs $\mathbf{A}^{a}$, $\mathbf{B}^{a}$, $\mathbf{C}^{a}$. Of these $\mathbf{A}^{a}$ is a recension which has toned down the indecencies of the original text. $\mathbf{B}^{a}$ represents the recension of Torquatus Gennadius, made circ. A.D. 401, as is attested by his subscription at the end of most of the books, e.g. xiii. 4 'Emendaui ego Torquatus Gennadius in foro Diui Augusti Martis consulatu Vincentii et Fraguitii uirorum clarissimorum feliciter' (i. e. A. D. 401). $\mathbf{C}^{a}$ represents a third distinct

recension. The glaring discrepancies in reading between the different recensions can only be explained by the assumption that Martial issued more than one edition of some of his works.

Ed. pr. circ. 1471, but it is uncertain whether the Roman or the Venetian edition is the earlier.

Index in Friedländer's ed., Leipzig, 1886.

MELA, s.v. POMPONIUS MELA.

MENANDER (342–291 B.C.), writer of the New Comedy.

Large fragments of his comedies were found by G. Lefebvre at Aphroditopolis, in a papyrus of 4/5th cent., in 1905, and published at Cairo in 1907, i.e. *Heros*, *Epitrepontes*, *Samia*, *Pericíromene* (also fragments in Pap. Lipsiensis 613, P. Oxyr. 211). There are also small fragments of *Georgos* (P. Genevensis 155), *Citharista* (Berliner Klassikertexte v. 2, p. 115), *Colax* (P. Oxyr. 409), *Coneazomenae* (P. Dorpatensis), *Misumenos* (P. Oxyr. 1013), *Perinthia* (P. Oxyr. 855), *Phasma* (vellum fragments at St. Petersburg, 4th cent.).

MOSCHUS (circ. 150 B.C.), bucolic poet.

His works have the same tradition as the poems of Theocritus (q.v.). (1) Ἐπιτάφιος Βίωνος and (2) Μεγάρα in Π and Φ-groups; (3) Ἔρως δραπέτης in Φ-group; (4) Εὐρώπη in **F**=Ambros. B. 99, 12th cent., **M**=Vat. 915, 13th cent., and **S**=Laurent. 32. 16, 14th cent.

M. AURELIUS OLYMPIUS **NEMESIANUS** (fl. circ. A.D. 280). (1) *Cynegetica* (325 hex.); (2) *Four Eclogae.*

(1) A Lombardic MS. was discovered by Sannazaro containing Ovid's *Halieutica*, Grattius, and Nemesianus *Cynegetica*. The part containing Ovid and Grattius survives as Vindobon. 277, 9th cent.: a copy only of the Nemesianus survives in Vindobon. 3261, 16th cent. The poem is also preserved in two Paris MSS. (7561, 4839), 10th cent. (2) Same tradition as Calpurnius's *Eclogae*, q.v.

Ed. pr. in *Grattius*, Venice, 1534.

Index in M. Haupt's Ovid's *Halieutica*, 1838.

CORNELIUS **NEPOS** (contemporary with Cicero and Atticus).

De uiris illustribus, originally in 16 books. Of this there survive: (1) the section *De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium*, containing 23 biographies; and (2) two biographies (viz. of Atticus and Cato) belonging to the section *De Historicis Latinis*.

The Lives of the Generals have been handed down under the name of Aemilius Probus, a contemporary of Theodosius II. An epigram by Probus is appended in the MSS. after the life of Hannibal. It has been held that he is the real author, but there is little doubt that he was merely an editor and that the epigram refers to a copy of selections from the complete work presented by him to the Emperor Theodosius.

There is some evidence that Nepos himself produced two editions of his work. MSS. are in two groups: (1) The best, represented by **P**=Parcensis, 15th cent., and by the lost *codex Danielinus* siue Gifanianus, known from a collation preserved in a copy of the editio Marniana (Frankfort, 1608). (2) An inferior group to which belong: **A**=Guelferbytanus-Gudianus 166, 12/13th cent., and **B**=Sangallensis, 14th cent.

Ed. pr.: Jenson, Venice, 1471. The work in this edition is attributed to Aemilius Probus.

Index in Delphin ed. (N. Courtin), 1675; G. H. Bardili, 1820.

NICANDER (2nd cent. B.C.), didactic poet.

(1) Θηριακά (958 hexam.). (2) Ἀλεξιφάρμακα (630). (3) A few epigrams.

Best MS. is Π=Paris. suppl. 247, 10/11th cent. (some leaves are lost). **G**=Goettingensis, 13/14th cent., and **M**=Laurent. 32. 16, 13th cent., are of use.

Ed. pr. in Aldine Dioscorides 1499.

Index in O. Schneider's ed. 1856.

NONIUS MARCELLUS (first half of 4th cent. B.C.).

De Compendiosa Doctrina in 20 bks. (bk. 16 lost), 1–12 being concerned with the diction, 13–20 with the subject-matter of the older Latin writers.

All MSS. are derived from the same archetype, since all have one leaf in bk. 4 placed at the beginning of bk. 1 out of its proper order. It is probable that this archetype was in three volumes, containing bks. 1–3, bk. 4, bks. 5–20, since the text given by many MSS. is not uniform but varies within these limits. The MSS. fall into three groups, exhibiting (1) a pure, (2) an interpolated, and (3) an excerpted text. In bks. 1–3 these families are represented respectively by: (1) **L**=Lugdunensis-Vossianus lat. fol. 73, 9th cent. (2) **G**=

Gudianus 96, 10th cent. (3) In this class all omit bk. 3. In bk. 4 the families are (1) **L** (v. *supra*), Genevensis 84, 9th cent., **B**=Bernensis 83, 10th cent.; (2) **G** (v. *supra*); (3) e.g. Oxoniensis-Bodleianus, Canon. Class. Lat. 279, 10th cent. In bks. 5–20: (1) **L** and three others of which the best is **H**=Harleianus 2719, 9/10th cent.; (2) **G**; (3) numerous and in two groups. The text has to be founded mainly on **L** with the aid of the first hand of the Genevensis in bk. 4 and of certain corrections (in 1–3) in **F**=Laurentianus 48. 1, 10th cent., which may be derived from the archetype.

Ed. pr.: In i–ii, iv–xx, Rome, 1470: in iii, Pesaro, 1511.

NONNUS PANOPOLITANUS (end of 4th cent. A.D.).

Dionysiaca in 48 bks. [He also wrote a Metaphrasis of St. John's Gospel.]

MSS. are in two classes, headed respectively (1) by Π= papyrus Berolinensis P. 10567, probably of the 7th cent; (2) by **L**=Laurent. 32. 16, written anno 1280. All codd. are descended from **L** through **P**=Pal.-Heidelb. 85, 16th cent.

Ed. pr.: Falkenburgius, Plantin, Antwerp, 1569.

OPPIAN (under Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 161–180). Poet.

(1) *Halieutica* in 5 bks. (2) The Κυνηγετικά in 4 bks. are by a later writer who lived under Caracalla.

MSS. in two classes. To the best belong **A**=Marcianus 479, containing (2). **K**=Laurent. 32. 16 (1), 14th cent. **C**=Par. 2860, 16th cent., containing only (2). **D**=Neapolitanus, II. F. 17, 15th cent., and others.

Ed. pr. of *Halieutica*: P. Junta, Florence, 1515: of *Cynegetica*, Aldus, Venice, ? 1517.

PUBLIUS **OVIDIUS** NASO (43 B.C.—A.D. 17 or 18).

A. Works written before his banishment in A. D. 8.

1. *Heroides* or *Epistulae Heroidum* in 21 poems, of which 16–21 are considered doubtful by some critics. All MSS. descend from a common archetype which omitted ii. 18–19. Best MS. is **P**=Parisinus 8242 (Puteaneus), 9th cent. Translation into Greek by the Byzantine Maximus Planudes (late 13th cent.) of little value.

2. *Amores, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris, Medicamina faciei.* **P** (v. *supra*), **R**=Parisinus 7311 (Regius), 10th cent. **S**=

Sangallensis 864, 11th cent. **O**=Oxon. Auct. F. 4. 32, 9th cent. **M**=Flor. Marc. 223, 11th cent., containing the *Medicamina*.

3. *Metamorphoses* (15 bks.). **M**=Florentinus Marcianus 225, 11th cent. **N**=Neapolitanus, 11th cent., Frag. Bernense, 363, 8/9th cent. (cf. A. Gercke, *Seneca-studien*, p. 53). The late MSS. are corrupt but indispensable for bk. 15.

4. *Fasti* (6 bks.). **A**=Vaticanus Reginensis 1709 (Petavianus), 10th cent., is the best. **V**=Vat. 3262 (Ursinianus), 11th cent. **M**=Mallersdorfiensis 2 (at Munich), ? 12th cent. **A** has probably been overestimated. It gives the Carolingian tradition while **V** gives the Lombardic.

B. Works written in exile.

5. *Tristia* (5 bks.). **L**=Laurentianus S. Marci 123, 11th cent., containing i. 5. 11—iii. 7. 1, iv. 1. 12—iv. 7. 5. The rest of the codex was destroyed and replaced by a depraved text in the 15th cent. **A**=Marcianus Politiani, now lost, ? 11th cent. **G**=Guelferbytanus-Gudianus 192, 13th cent. **H**=Holkhamicus, 13th cent. **V**=Vaticanus 1606, 13th cent.

6. *Epistulae ex Ponto* (4 bks.). Frag. Guelferbytanum, 6/7th cent. The best complete MS. is **A**=Hamburgensis, 9th cent.

7. *Doubtful or spurious works.* Doubtful are *Halieutica* (130 hex.). **V**=Vindobonensis 277 (Sannazarianus), 9th cent. **P**=Parisin. 8071, 9/10th cent. *Ibis*, in 644 elegiacs. Francofurtanus, 14/15th cent. **G**=Galeanus, O. 7. 7, 12th cent., and many others. Also preserved in several collections of Florilegia. *Epistula Sapphus*. This is not contained in the best MSS. Part of it is probably by Ovid and part an interpolation made during the age of Petronius. *Nux* and *Epicedion Drusi* are spurious, though both are held by some to belong to the age of Ovid.

Ed. pr.: Bologna, 1471; also Rome, 1471.

Index: Delphin (D. Crispin), 1669: P. Burman, 1727: to *Metamorph.* in G. E. Gierig and J. C. Jahn, 1823: to *Halieut.* M. Haupt, 1838: to *Ibis* R. Ellis, 1881.

PANEGYRICI VETERES (age of Diocletian, A.D. 284–305): a collection of complimentary speeches made to various emperors, including Pliny's Address to Trajan.

The collection is derived from a lost MS. discovered by Ioannes Aurispa at Mainz in 1433. Three apographa of this MS. (as is

now generally admitted) survive, viz.: (1) **A**=Upsaliensis 18, written by Johannes Hergot (1458). (2) One written by Aurispa himself in 1433, now lost. Copies of it survive in **W**=Vat. 1775 and other MSS. (3) **H**=Harleianus 2480. A collation of a lost Bertiniensis made by Fr. Modius was used by Livineius in his edition (Antwerp, 1599).

Ed. pr.: by Puteolanus, Milan, ? 1482. Index in Delphin ed. (J. de la Baune), 1677.

PAUSANIAS (under the Antonines).

Περιήγησις τῆς Ἑλλάδος in 10 bks.

The MSS. are numerous but late. The condition of the text is unsound owing to the number of lacunae. Schubart holds that all MSS. are descended from one archetype. If this be true the archetype must have exhibited many variant readings. The MSS. fall into three divisions, though several present a text which is not uniformly characteristic of any one division. (1) **P**=Paris. 1410, A. D. 1491, to which are allied **Fa**, **Fb**=Laurent. 56. 10 and 56. 11, **Pd**=Paris 1411. (2) **L**=Lugd. 16. K and others. These two classes probably descend from a codex which belonged to Arethas. (3) The vulgate, e. g. **V**=Vindob. 23. **M**=Mosquensis (libr. of Synod) 194. **Vn**=Venetus 413, **Lb**=Lugd. 16. L. Any text must be eclectic, and there is a wide field for conjecture.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, Venice, 1516.

Aulus **PERSIUS** Flaccus (34–62). Six satires.

Two classes: (1) **A**=Montepessulanus 212, 10th cent. **B**=Vaticanus tabularii Basilicae Vaticanae 36 H, 9th cent. These present the recension of Sabinus made in A.D. 402. The *subscriptio* is corrupt, and probably ran as follows 'Flauius Iulius Tryfonianus Sabinus u. c. protector domesticus temptaui emendare sine antigrapho meum et adnotaui Barcellone consulibus dominis nostris Arcadio et Honorio q(uinquies)'. (2) **P**=Montepessulanus 125, 9th cent. (cf. Iuvenalis). The tendency has been to prefer the evidence of (2). The Fragmentum Bobiense (Vat. 5750) belongs to 4/5th cent. and contains i. 53–104.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1470. Index in O. Jahn's ed., 1843.

Pervigilium Veneris, s.v. Anthologia Latina.

PETRONIUS ARBITER (d. A. D. 65).

Satirae in at least 20 bks., of which fragments from bks. 15, 16

survive. **L**=the longer excerpts from a lost MS., preserved in Scaliger's apographum (Leidensis Q. 61) and in the editions of Tornaesius (1575) and Pithou (1587). **O**=the shorter excerpts, found in Bernensis 357, 10th cent., and many inferior MSS. **H**=Par. 7989, 15th cent. (Traguriensis), found at Trau in 1650, which alone contains the Cena Trimalchionis.

Ed. pr.: in *Panegyrici uett.* Milan, circ. 1482: of the *Cena*, printed by P. Frambottus, Padua, 1664. Index in P. Burman's ed., 1743. Lexicon by I. Segebade and E. Lommatzsch, Leipzig, 1898.

PHAEDRUS (said to have been a freedman of Augustus).

Fabulae in 5 bks. The only entire MS. surviving is the Pithoeanus, 9/10th cent., belonging to the Marquis de Rosanbo at Dumesnil near Mantes. Another codex, now lost, was discovered in 1608 by the Jesuit scholar, J. Sirmond, at Rheims. It was burnt in 1774, but its readings are known. A fragment of another MS. belonging to P. Daniel (charta Danielis), 9/10th cent., is preserved in Vat. Reg. 1616.

Ed. pr. by P. Pithou, Troyes, 1596.

Index: in Delphin (P. Danet), 1675: A. Cinquini, Milan, 1905.

PHILO IUDAEUS (fl. A.D. 39), Graeco-Judaic philosopher.

No MS. of his works is older than the 10th cent. The archetype of all MSS. can be referred to the 4th cent., when the two bishops of Caesarea, Acacius (338–365) and Euzoius (376–379), had the works in the library of Pamphilus and Origen at Caesarea transferred from papyrus to vellum. Cod. V preserves this tradition by the inscription Εὐζόιος ἐπίσκοπος ἐν σωματίοις ἀνενεώσατο. MSS. very numerous. Among the best in the portions of his works which they preserve are: **R**=Vat. gr. 316, 9th cent. **S**=Seldenianus 12, 10th cent. **V**=Vindob. theol. gr. 29, 11th cent. For full account see Cohn-Wendland's ed., 1896-1906.

Ed. pr.: A. Turnebus, Paris, 1552.

PHILOSTRATUS.

The works which survive under this name probably belong to four men: (1) Philostratus, son of Verus (fl. under Nero); (2) Flavius Philostratus (fl. under Septimius Severus, 193–211); (3) his stepson (fl. under Caracalla 211–217); (4) a grandson of (3) who wrote a second set of Εἰκόνες. (1) Τὰ ἐς τὸν Τυανέα

Ἀπολλώνιον. (2) Βίοι σοφιστῶν. (3) Εἰκόνες. (4) Ἡρωικός. (5) Γυμναστικός. (6) Ἐπιστολαί. (7) Two διαλέξεις. (8) Νέρων. Phil. I is probably the author of (8), Phil. II of (1) and (2), Phil. III of (3) and (4). The authorship of the remaining works is very uncertain.

In (1) MSS. are in two groups ; to the better group belongs Π = Parisinus 1801. In (2) there are three groups. The best MSS. in each are (*a*) **r** = Vaticanus 99. (*b*) **μ** = Mediolanensis C. 47. (*c*) **p** = Parisinus 1696. In (4) four groups. To the first belongs Laurentianus 58. 32. In (6) the best family is represented by **R** = Vaticanus 140. In (3) MSS. are exceedingly numerous. The best are **F** = Laurent. 69. 30, 13th cent., **P** = Paris. 1696, 14th cent., and $\mathbf{V}^2$ = Vaticanus 1898, 13th cent. (5) depends upon copies of a MS. brought by Menoides Minas from Greece circ. 1840. The second Εἰκόνες depend on Laurent. 58. 32, 12th cent.

Ed. pr. for (2), (3), (4) in the Aldine *Lucian*, 1503 ; for (1) Aldus, 1504 ; (6) in the Aldine *Epp. Graec.*, 1499 ; collected edition, Morel, Paris, 1608.

Index to (3) in Teubner text, 1893.

PHOTIUS, patriarch of Constantinople (c. A.D. 820–891).

(1) Βιβλιοθήκη ἢ Μυριόβιβλος, a collection of excerpts.

(2) Λέξεων συναγωγή.

For (1) the best MS. is Marcianus 450. For (2) the only authorities are the codex Galeanus and Berolinensis graec. oct. 22, 11/12th cent., which contains α–ἄπαρνος.

Edd. pr. : (1) D. Höschel, Augsburg, 1601 ; (2) G. Hermann, Leipzig, 1808. The Berlin frag. was published by Reitzenstein, 1907.

PINDAR (522–442 B.C.).

Odes : (1) Ἐπίνικοι Ὀλυμπιονίκαις (14). (2) Ἐπίνικοι Πυθιονίκαις (12). (3) Ἐπίνικοι Νεμεονίκαις (8 + 3 celebrating other than Nemean victories). (4) Ἐπίνικοι Ἰσθμιονίκαις (8). Considerable fragments preserved in papyri and in quotations made by ancient authors.

The text has passed through the hands of ancient scholars such as Aristarchus. The oldest scholia go back to Didymus, and were probably edited in their present form in the 2nd cent. A.D. All MSS. are descended from a common archetype dating from this period. The two best, each of which represents a separate line of descent from this archetype, are **A** = Ambrosianus

C. 222 inf., 13th cent., containing *Ol.* i–xii and the 'Ambrosian' scholia. **B**=Vaticanus Gr. 1312, 12th cent., containing with a few omissions *Ol.*, *Pyth.*, *Nem.*, *Isthm.*, and the 'Vatican' scholia.

A. Boeckh was the first to reject the evidence of the interpolated MSS., which present the recensions of Moschopulus, Triclinius, and Thomas Magister.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1513.

Index: Rumpel's Lexicon, Leipzig, 1883; Concordance, Bindseil, Berlin, 1875.

PLATO (427–347 B. C.).

The works attributed to him consist of 42 dialogues, 13 letters, and ὅροι or Definitions. The authentic dialogues were arranged by Thrasylos (a Platonic scholar of the age of Tiberius) in 9 tetralogies. I. (1) Εὐθύφρων. (2) Ἀπολογία. (3) Κρίτων. (4) Φαίδων. II. (5) Κρατύλος. (6) Θεαίτητος. (7) Σοφιστής. (8) Πολιτικός. III. (9) Παρμενίδης. (10) Φίληβος. (11) Συμπόσιον. (12) Φαῖδρος. IV. (13) Ἀλκιβιάδης α΄. (14) Ἀλκ. β΄. (15) Ἵππαρχος. (16) Ἀνтερασταί. V. (17) Θεάγης. (18) Χαρμίδης. (19) Λάχης. (20) Λύσις. VI. (21) Εὐθύδημος. (22) Πρωταγόρας. (23) Γοργίας. (24) Μένων. VII. (25) Ἱππίας μείζων. (26) Ἱππ. ἐλάττων. (27) Ἴων. (28) Μενέξενος. VIII. (29) Κλειτοφῶν. (30) Πολιτεία. (31) Τίμαιος. (32) Κριτίας. IX. (33) Μίνως. (34) Νόμοι. (35) Ἐπινομίς. (36) Ἐπιστολαί. This arrangement has been attributed to Tyrannion of Amisos who was employed by Atticus. There are traces of an arrangement in trilogies, attributed to Aristophanes of Byzantium. Six spurious dialogues are attributed to the Platonic corpus (viz. Περὶ δικαίου—Περὶ ἀρετῆς—Δημόδοκος—Σίσυφος—Ἐρυξίας—Ἀξίοχος). The ὅροι are also spurious. A dialogue called Ἀλκυών (preserved with Lucian's works) is also falsely attributed to Plato.

The corpus was originally written in two volumes, the first containing tetr. i–vii, the second viii and ix. Each volume has a separate tradition.

For tetr. i–vii the chief MSS. are: **B**=Bodleianus, E. D. Clarke 39 (Clarkeanus), A. D. 895, containing tetr. i–vi. The apographa of **B**, viz. **C**=Crusianus siue Tubingensis, **D**=Venetus 185, both of 12th cent., are often of use. **T**=Venetus Append. Class. 4, cod. 1,

represents the same family as **B**. It contains tetr. i–vii and part of viii in a 12th cent. hand, the end of the MS. belonging to the period of the Renaissance. **W**=Vindobonensis 54. suppl. phil. Gr. 7, contains a mixture of readings from **B** and **T**, but is thought by some to represent a separate tradition.

For tetr. viii–ix, and ὅροι and spurious dialogues, the best MS. is: **A**=Parisinus 1807, 9/10th cent. The deficiencies of **A** are sometimes supplied by later independent MSS., e.g. in the *Republic* by **D** (v. *supra*), and **M**=Malatestianus plut. xxviii. 4, in the *Timaeus* by **Y**=Vindob. 21, and in tetr. viii by **F**=Vindob. 55. suppl. Gr 39 which ends with the Minos. In tetr. ix **L**=Laur. 80. 17, **O**=Vat. 796 are of use.

All MSS. are generally held to be derived from a common archetype. The quotations in ancient writers, e.g. Stobaeus, Eusebius, show a different text known as the 'Old Vulgate', and traces of this text are discerned by some critics in **W** and **F**.

The fragments of the *Phaedo* in the *papyrus Arsinoiticus* discovered by F. Petrie are of little value.

Ancient Commentaries. Hermeias (5th cent. A.D.) on the *Phaedrus*: Proclus (A.D. 412–485) on the *Republic, Alc., Parm., Tim., Crat.*: Olympiodorus (6th cent.).

Scholia in the various MSS. The most elaborate are those belonging to the *Gorgias* and *Timaeus*.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1513.

Index: Ast's Lexicon, Leipzig, 1835–1838.

T. Maccius **PLAUTUS** (d. 184 B.C.).

21 comedies. (1) *Amphitruo.* (2) *Asinaria.* (3) *Aulularia.* (4) *Captiui.* (5) *Curculio.* (6) *Casina.* (7) *Cistellaria.* (8) *Epidicus.* (9) *Bacchides.* (10) *Mostellaria.* (11) *Menaechmi.* (12) *Miles Gloriosus.* (13) *Mercator.* (14) *Pseudolus.* (15) *Poenulus.* (16) *Persa.* (17) *Rudens.* (18) *Stichus.* (19) *Trinummus.* (20) *Truculentus.* (21) *Vidularia* (fragments only in **A**).

The best MS. is **A**=Ambros. G. 82. sup., 3rd/4th cent., a palimpsest with the Latin version of the Book of Kings written above the text of Plautus in the 8th cent. Only 236 leaves are preserved. The *Amph.*, *Asin.*, and *Curc.* are missing. Besides this there is **P**=the Palatine Family, represented by **B**=Vaticano-Palatinus 1615, 10th cent. (uetus Camerarii); **C**=Palatinus 1613, 11th cent.,

at Heidelberg, called the 'decurtatus', since first eight plays are missing; **D**=Vaticanus 3870, 11th cent. (Ursinianus); and by a fragmentary collation of a lost MS. used by Turnebus, which was discovered by Lindsay in the Bodleian. Two views of the history of the tradition are now held: (1) There were two editions in antiquity, (*a*) one containing more or less the text of Plautus himself, (*b*) another containing a text which had been adapted for later revivals of the plays. **A** in the main represents the first, and **P** the second (Lindsay). (2) Both **A** and **P** have a common origin in a text constructed about the time of Hadrian (Leo).

The plays are arranged in the MSS. in a rough alphabetical order in which only the initial letters are regarded. The order given above is found in the **P**-group. It agrees in the main with that given in **A**, except that the *Bacchides* has been placed after the *Epidicus*, apparently on the strength of *Bacch.* 214 'etiam epidicum, quam ego fabulam aeque ac me ipsum amo'.

Ed. pr.: George Merula, Venice, 1472.

Lexicon Plautinum, G. Lodge, 1901; J. P. Waltzing, Louvain, 1900 (both unfinished): Delphin ed. (I. Operarius), 1679.

PLINY THE ELDER, C. Plinius Secundus (23 or 24 B.C.—A.D. 79).

Naturalis Historia (37 bks.). About 200 MSS. in two groups. (1) *The older group* is imperfect: **A**=Leidensis-Vossianus f. 4, 9th cent. (bks. 2–6): **B**=Bambergensis M.V. 10, 10th cent. (32–37). There are fragments of uncial MSS.: **M**=codex Moneus, a palimpsest of 5/6th cent. from the monastery of S. Paul in Lavanter Thal, Carinthia (bks. 11–15). **N**=Sessorianus (Nonantulanus), 5th cent. palimpsest (bks. 23, 25). **O**=Vindobonensis 233, 6th cent. (bks. 33, 34). **P**=Parisinus 9378, 5/6th cent. (bk. 18. 87–99). **H**=Lucensis, 8th cent. (bk. 18. 309–365). There are MSS. of 10/12th cent. containing valuable excerpts, e. g. by Robert of Crikelade in England (12th cent.). (2) *The younger group*, on which the text mainly depends, falls into two classes. (*a*) **D**+**G**+**V**, a MS. of 11th cent., now in three parts. **D**=Vatic. Lat. 3861 (bks. 1–19). **G**=Paris. Lat. 6796 (19–20). **V**=Leid.-Voss. fol. 61 (bks. 20–36). **F**=Leidensis Lipsii vii, 11th cent. (bks. 1–38), a copy of **D**+**G**+**V**. **R**=Riccardianus 11th cent. (mutilated in 14–20, 23, 24, 38; 11–13 have been supplied from an older text). (*b*) Of the second class the most

important MS. is **E** = Parisinus Lat. 6795, 10/11th cent., mutilated esp. in bks. 21–23.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1469. Index in Delphin ed. (J. Hardouin), 1723: Lemaire, 1832.

PLINY THE YOUNGER, Caius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (A.D. 61—circ. 113).

(1) *Panegyricus Traiano dictus.* (2) *Epistulae* (9 bks). (3) Correspondence with Trajan.

(1) is preserved among the Panegyrici ueteres (q.v.). There is also an Ambrosian palimpsest (ord. sup. E. 147), 7/8th cent.

For (2) there are three sources: (*a*) MSS. containing bks. 1–5, of which the best are: **R** = Florentinus Ashburnhamensis R. 98, olim Riccardianus M. 11. 488, 9/10th cent. **F** = Laurentianus S. Marci 284, 10/11th cent. (*b*) containing eight books, viz. 1–7 and 9, e.g. Dresdensis D. 166, 15th cent. (*c*) containing nine books, e.g. **M** = Laurentianus 47. 36, 10th cent., in the same hand as the Medicean of Tac. *Ann.* i–vi. **V** = Vat. 3864 is akin to **M**, but only contains bks i–iv. Textual criticism is difficult and uncertain. **M V** are thought to be superior to the rest in the order of the words which they present, but their text shows traces of the hand of some ancient scholar.

Ed. pr.: by Ludovicus Carbo, Venice, 1471 (1–7, 9); Ioannes Schurener, Rome, circ. 1474 (1–9).

(3) depends on a lost French MS. which contained both (2) and (3). Avantius in 1502 used a copy of it made by Leander for letters 41–121. For letters 1–40 a MS. has been found by Hardy in the Bodleian made from Ioannes Iucundus' copy of this French codex, and apparently used by Aldus in 1508.

Index to (1) in C. G. Schwarz, 1746: to (2) in G. Cortius, 1734.

PLUTARCH (circ. A.D. 46–120).

(1) Βίοι παράλληλοι (50, consisting of 23 pairs and 4 separate lives, i. e. Artaxerxes Mnemon, Aratus, Galba, and Otho). (2) Συγγράμματα ἠθικά, 83 works, mainly on philosophical subjects. (3) Minor historical writings.

In the *Lives* an edition in 3 bks. containing respectively 9, 7, and 7 pairs of lives lies behind the present MS. tradition. (*a*) These three books are preserved in whole or part in one group of MSS. which has been called the **Y**-group. To this

belong **A B C D** = Parisini 1671–2–3–4, 13/14th cent., which are complete: and incomplete MSS. such as Laurentianus 206, 10th cent. (bk. 1), Laurent. 69. 6, A.D. 997 (bk. 3), Sangermanensis 319, 10th cent., and many others, showing that each of the three books has acquired its own separate tradition. (*b*) A recension of this early edition in 3 bks., in which the order of the lives has been altered, survives in the **X**-group of MSS. and in Photius; e. g. **St** = Seitenstettensis, containing 8 pairs of lives. **M** = Marcianus 385. **F**^{a} = Parisinus 1676. **F** = Paris. 1677. Where these MSS. contain lives outside the 8 pairs in **St** their text belongs to the **Y**-group. (*c*) **N** = Matritensis N. 55, 14th cent., is not derived directly from either **X** or **Y**, but from a common ancestor. The present order of the lives dates only from Asulanus, the editor of the Aldine, 1509–19, and illustrates the special interest felt by the men of the Renaissance in the Roman lives. The basis of the order in the MSS. (**Y**) is Greek.

(2) In the *Moralia* the MSS. are not of uniform value throughout all the treatises. Among the best are: **E** = Parisinus 1672. **B** = Par. 1675. **D** = Par. 1956, 11/12th cent. **F** = Par. 1957, 11th cent. Urbinas 97, 11/12th cent. Athous 268, 14th cent. Vindobonensis 148 (especially for Quaestiones Symposiacae).

Ed. pr.: *Moralia*, Aldus and Asulanus, Venice, 1509; *Lives*, P. Junta, Florence, 1517.

Index: Wyttenbach's Lexicon, Oxford, 1830. The *Moralia* are cited by the pages of G. Xylander, Basel, 1560–1570.

IULIUS **POLLUX** (Πολυδεύκης) (d. A.D. 58).

Ὀνομάστικόν, a dictionary of antiquities in 10 bks.

All MSS. are held to descend from a codex once in the possession of Arethas of Caesarea. This did not give the text of the *Onomasticon*, but only an epitome. The MSS. fall into four groups. (1) **M** = Ambros. D. 34 superior, 10/11th cent. (2) **S** = Salmanticensis 1. 2. 3, **F** = Par. gr. 2646, both of 15th cent. (3) **A** = Par. Gr. 2670, 15th cent. (4) **C** = Palatinus-Heidelbergensis 375, 12th cent., and others.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1502.

POLYBIUS (circ. 205–120 B.C.).

Ἱστορίαι, originally in 40 bks., of which 1–5 survive entire. The best MS. of these is **A** = Vat. 124, 11th cent. It has been

corrected in several hands. Many inferior MSS. Polybius everywhere avoids hiatus.

Fragments of the lost books survive in **F** = codex Urbinas 102, 11th cent. (first published by F. Ursinus, Antwerp, 1582), and in a number of MSS. copied from it; also in the Constantine excerpts (q.v.) and in **M** = Vat. 73 of 10th cent., a palimpsest containing gnomic excerpts. Papyri represent a different tradition.

Ed. pr.: bks. 1–5, Vincentius Opsopoeus, 1530. Lat. Trans. of 1–5 by Nicolaus Perrottus, 1473.

Index in Schweighäuser's ed., vol. viii, Leipzig, 1795.

POMPONIUS MELA, of Tingentera in Spain (circ. A.D. 43).

De Situ Orbis, in 3 bks. All MSS. are derived from Vat. 929, 10th cent., which has the subscription 'Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus u(ir) c(larissimus) et sp(e)c(tabilis) com(es) consistor(ianus) emendaui Rabennae'.

Ed. pr.: Zarotus, Milan, 1471. Index in Tzschucke's ed., Leipzig, 1807.

PRIAPEA.

A collection of 80 poems to the god Priapus made under Augustus. MSS. are late, e. g. **A** = Laurent. 33. 31, 14th cent.

SEXTUS **PROPERTIUS** (circ. 50–15 B.C.).

Elegies in 4 bks. Lachmann, on the strength of ii. 13 A, 25, 26, 'Sat mea sit &c.,' divides bk. 2 after poem ix. **N** = Neapolitanus, now at Wolfenbüttel, inter Gudianos 224. Its date has been fixed as early as the 12th cent. and as late as the 15th. **A** = Vossianus 38, 14th cent. **F** = Laurentianus 36. 49, 15th cent. **L** = Holkhamicus 333, A. D. 1421. **D** = Daventriensis 1792, 15th cent. **V** = Ottoboniano-Vaticanus 1514, 15th cent. Criticism turns largely on the value assigned to **N**. Of the other MSS. **AF** and **DV** form distinct groups. The archetype does not appear to be older than the Carolingian period.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1472. Index: Phillimore, Oxford, 1905.

CLAUDIUS **PTOLEMAEUS** (under Marcus Aurelius (A. D. 161–180) according to Suidas).

(1) Γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις (8 bks.). (2) Μεγάλη σύνταξις τῆς ἀστρονομίας, or Almagest (13 bks.). (3) Πρόχειροι κανόνες. (4) Κανὼν βασιλειῶν (preserved only in the Chronography of the Byzantine Georgios Synkellos). (5) Φάσεις ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων καὶ συναγωγὴ

ἐπισημασιῶν. (6) Ὑποθέσεις τῶν πλανωμένων. (7) Ἁρμονικά (7 bks.). (8) Περὶ κριτηρίου καὶ ἡγεμονικοῦ. (9) Ὀπτικὴ πραγματεία (3 bks., preserved only in a Latin version). (10) Τετράβιβλος σύνταξις μαθηματική (doubtful). The Centiloquium, a collection of sayings from the Τετράβιβλος, is spurious.

Two small treatises on Astronomy, Περὶ ἀναλήμματος and ἁπλωσις ἐπιφανείας σφαίρας, only survive, except for a few fragments in cod. Ambros. Gr. 491, a palimpsest of 6th cent., in Latin versions made from the Arabic.

(1) MSS. numerous, but their tradition has not been sufficiently investigated. One of the most important is the Athous **L**.

(2) MSS. numerous and good. The two main groups are (*a*) **A**=Par. 2389, 9th cent. **B**=Vat. 1594, 9th cent. **C**=Marc. 313, 10th cent. (*b*) An inferior group, possibly derived from an Alexandrine recension circ. A.D. 300.

(3) Par. Gr. 2390, 13th cent. (5) **A**=Vat. 318, 14th cent. **B**=Vat. 1594, 9th cent. (6) An archetype can be constructed from three late MSS. Vat. 208 and Marciani 323, 324.

Edd. pr.: (1) Basel, 1533; (2) Basel, 1538; (4) in Scaliger, *Thesaurus Temporum*, 1606; (5) in D. Petavius, *Uranologium*, 1630; (6) in J. Bainbridge, *Procli Sphaera*, London, 1620; (7) J. Wallis, Oxford, 1682; (8) I. Bullialdus, Paris, 1663; (10) Nuremberg, 1535.

M. Fabius **QUINTILIANUS** (A.D. 35–95).

(1) *Institutionis Oratoriae libri* xii. (2) The spurious *Declamationes* in two collections; 19 *maiores*, 145 *minores*.

For (1) there are two families of MSS. The first contains about two-sevenths of the complete text. To it belong **Bn**= Bernensis 351, 10th cent. **N**=Parisinus-Nostradamensis 18527, 10th cent. The second is best represented by **A**=Ambrosianus E. 153 sup., 11th cent. Excerpts by the rhetor Iulius Victor. Neither family is indispensable.

Ed. pr.: by Campanus, Rome, 1470.

Index: E. Bonnell's lexicon, 1834: Lemaire, 1821.

For (2) in the *maiores* there are two groups with different arrangement of the *Declamationes*. The best MSS. are (*a*) **B**= Bambergensis M. iv. 13, 10th cent. and **V**=Vossianus Q. 111, 10/11th cent. (*b*) **P**=Parisinus 16230, 14th cent., and **S**=

Sorbonnensis 629, 15th cent. Both Bamb. and Par. have the subscription of Dracontius, which runs as follows in Bamb. 'Descripsi et emendaui Domitius Dracontius de codice fratris Hieri mihi et usib(us) meis et dis (? discipulis) omnib(us)'.

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1475 (9, 10, 8); first complete ed., Georgius Merula, Venice, 1481.

Index in G. Lehnert's ed., 1905.

For the *minores* the chief MSS. are: **A**=Montepessulanus 126, 10th cent.: **B**=Monacensis 309, anno 1494: **C**=Chigianus fol. H. viii. 262, 15th cent.

Ed. pr.: Parma, 1494.

Index in C. Ritter's ed., 1884.

QUINTUS CURTIUS Rufus (under Claudius, A. D. 41–54).

Historiae Alexandri Magni, in 10 bks., of which the first two are lost.

The MSS. must all come from the same archetype, since all exhibit the same lacunae. They fall into two classes: (1) The older, divided into two groups, consisting of (*a*) **P**=Parisinus 5716, 9th cent., allied to which are fragments at Zürich, Vienna, and elsewhere; (*b*) **F**=Laurentianus 64. 35, 11th cent., **B**=Bernensis 451, 10th cent., **L**=Leidensis 137, 10th cent., **V**=Vossianus Q. 20, 10th cent. (2) A group of late interpolated MSS.

Ed. pr.: either Laver, Rome, or v. de Spira, Venice, both of which were published circ. 1471.

Index: Delphin ed. (M. le Tellier), 1678; Lemaire, Paris, 1824; O. Eichert, Hannover, 1893.

QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS (end of 4th cent. A. D.).

Epic Τὰ μεθ' Ὅμηρον, in 14 bks., called Quintus Calaber, since the principal MS. containing his works was procured by Cardinal Bessarion in 1450 from Otranto in Calabria.

The MSS. are in two groups: (1) **M**=Monacensis 264, 15th cent. (bks. i–iv. 10, and xii). **P**=Parrhasianus nunc Neapolitanus 168, 15th cent. (2) MSS. derived from the lost Hydruntinus, e. g. **V**=Venetus Marcianus 455, written for Bessarion by J. Rhosos of Crete. **E**^{1}=Escurialensis Σ. II. 6 and other late MSS.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, [1505].

RHETORICA AD HERENNIUM. See p. 237.

C. SALLUSTIUS Crispus (86–35 B.C.).

(1) *Bellum Catilinae.* (2) *Bellum Iugurthinum.* (3) *Fragmenta.*

The MSS. fall into three classes: (1) Those with the lacuna in *Iug.* 103. 2–112. 3. The foremost of these are: **P**=Parisinus Sorbonianus 500, 10th cent. **P**^{1}=Par. 1576, 10th cent., and Vat.-Pal. 889 (Nazarianus). (2) MSS. which supply this lacuna, e. g. Vat. 3325 and Palatinus 883, both of 12th cent. Both classes descend from a common archetype. One token of this is the unmeaning *feliciter* in *Iug.* 103. 2. There are many *recentiores* containing short sentences that are missing in the better MSS. There was a revival of interest in Sallust in the 1st cent. A.D., which continued till the 4th. From the 6th to the 8th he was neglected, but he is known to Lupus, Windukind, and the Annales Fuldenses of the 9th and 10th cent., the age of the best MSS. The aim of criticism is to reconstruct the text of the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.

Fragments of the *Historiae* (originally in 5 bks.) survive in **V**=Vat. 3864, 10th cent.; in the Vatican fragment (Reginensis 1283); and in Aurelianensis 169, part of which is preserved at Berlin. The two last are of 3rd/4th cent. and came from Fleury.

Of the spurious works the *Ad Caesarem senem de republica* is preserved in **V**, and two *Inuectiuae* in **A**=Guelferb. Gud. 335, 10th cent., and in **H**=Harleian. 2716, 9/10th cent., and others.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1470.

Index in R. Dietsch's ed. 1859. Index to Fragments in B. Maurenbrecher's ed. 1891.

SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE (circ. A.D. 300).

A collection of Lives of the Emperors in continuation of Suetonius and Marius Maximus, covering the period from Hadrian to Carus and his sons (117–284). It is defective for the years 244–253. It includes the work of six authors: Aelius Spartianus (7 lives), Vulcacius Gallicanus (1), Iulius Capitolinus (14), Trebellius Pollio (6), Flavius Vopiscus (10), Aelius Lampridius (4).

The main authority is Vaticanus-Palatinus 899, 9/10th cent. The Bambergensis E. III. 19, which was once thought to have independent authority, is now recognized to be an 11th cent. copy of the Palatinus (cf. Mommsen, *Philol. Schrift.* 352). Traces of an independent tradition are found in the *Excerpta Cusana.*

Ed. pr.: B. Accursius, Milan, 1475 (based on Vaticanus 5301, a member of the Palatine group).

Index: C. Lessing, Leipzig, 1906.

L. Annaeus **SENECA** (wrote between A. D. 34–41).

(1) *Controuersiae*, in 10 bks., 3, 6, and 8 being lost. (2) *Suasoriae*.

The chief MSS. are: **A**=Antverpiensis 411, 10th cent. **B**=Bruxellensis 9581–9595, 10th cent. These are copies of a lost codex. **V**=Vat. 3872, 10th cent., supplies words that are missing in **AB**, but it is a question whether its excellence is authentic or due to interpolation.

All these MSS. are from the same archetype. **A** and **B** are the prime authority. There is an *Epitome* of the *Controuersiae* made in the 4th or 5th cent. which preserves a textual tradition different from that of the complete text. Best MS.: Montepessulanus 126, 11th cent.

Ed. pr.: first printed with the works of the younger Seneca. Venice, 1490.

Lucius Annaeus **SENECA** (died A. D. 65).

(*a*) **Tragedies.** Nine survive: *Herc. Furens, Troades, Phoenissae, Med., Phaedra, Oedip., Agamemnon, Thyestes, Herc. Oetaeus.* The *Octavia* is spurious.

E=Etruscus siue Laurentianus 37. 13, 11/12th cent., is by far the best MS. It is supported by **R**=the Ambrosian palimpsest, and by excerpts preserved in **T**=Thuaneus nunc Paris. 8071, 9/10th cent. There are two 14th cent. copies of **E**, viz. **M**=Ambros. D. 276, and **N**=Vat. 1769.

The other MSS. spring from a circle of scholars at Padua, and present a badly interpolated text. None are older than the 14th cent. A number of them are descended from a MS. used by an English Dominican, Treveth (died 1328).

Diui Claudii Ἀποκολοκύντωσις. Sangallensis 569, 10/11th cent., is by far the best MS. Valentianensis 393, 9/10th cent., is from the same archetype. Other MSS. are negligible.

(*b*) **Dialogues.** The following have been handed down under the title of Dialogi: (1) *De prouidentia.* (2) *De constantia sapientis.* (3–5) *De ira* in 3 bks. (6) *De consolatione ad Marciam.* (7) *De uita beata.* (8) *De otio.* (9) *De tranquillitate animi.* (10) *De breuitate uitae.* (11) *De consolatione ad Polybium.* (12) *De consolatione ad Heluiam matrem.*

The best authority is Ambros. C. 90 inf., 10/11th cent. The later MSS., although corrupt, preserve a distinct tradition.

Outside this corpus are the following writings :—

(13) *De clementia*. (14) *De beneficiis*, in 7 bks. Best MS. is **N**=Vat. Pal. 1547 (Nazarianus), 9/10th cent. It is disputed whether the inferior MSS., some of which are of high antiquity, —e. g. Reginensis 1529, 9/10th cent.—represent a separate tradition. In the *De clementia* there is beside these **A**=Erfurtensis Amplonianus Q. 3, 12th cent., ending at 1. 18. 2.

(15) NATURALES QUAESTIONES, in 7 bks. MSS. numerous. None are older than the 12th cent. They fall into three classes. (1) *Integri* (Φ), e. g. **H**=Paris. 8624, 12/13th cent., **J**=Oxoniensis, Coll. Di. Joh. Bapt. 36, 13th cent. (2) *Lacunosi* (Δ), which omit iii. 25. 6-iv. a, e. g. **A**=Leidensis-Voss. lat. oct. 55, 13th cent. (3) *Vulgares*, which display a mixture of the two other groups but are most closely related to the *Lacunosi*.

(16) EPISTULAE MORALES, in 20 bks. Preserved in two volumes from the 9/12th cent. Vol. i=bks. 1–13, Epp. 1–88, rests mainly on **p**=Parisinus 8540, 10th cent., which has to be supplemented in parts by **P**=Par. 8658 A, 10th cent., **L**=Laurent. 76. 40, 9/10th cent., **V**=Marcianus 270 arm. 22. 4, and others. Vol. ii=bks. 14–20, Epp. 89–124, depends mainly on **B**=Bambergensis v. 14, 9th cent., and **A**=Argentoratensis C vi. 5, 9/10th cent., burnt in 1870 but fortunately collated by Bücheler. After the 12th cent. the letters are preserved in one volume, e. g. in Abrincensis 239, 12th cent.

Ed. pr.: *Tragedies*, Ferrara, circ. 1474–1484; *Moralia et Epp.*, Naples, 1475; *Nat. Quaest.*, Venice, 1490. Index to *Tragedies* in J. C. Schroeder's ed. Delft, 1729, and in J. Pierrot, Paris, 1832.

QUINTUS **SERENUS** (SAMMONICUS) (fl. circ. A.D. 230 if he is rightly identified with the son of Sammonicus Serenus).

Liber medicinalis in 1107 hexameters. All MSS. descend from a collection of medical and scientific writings made by a certain Jacobus for Charlemagne. Two copies of this were made: (1) Turicensis 78, 9th cent. (2) The second is not extant, but is the parent of a large number of MSS., e.g. Vossianus L. Q. 33, 10th cent.; Senensis, 11th cent.

Ed. pr.: without place or date (? Milan, 1484).

SEXTUS EMPIRICUS (circ. A.D. 190). Philosopher.

(1) Πυρρώνειοι ὑποτυπώσεις, in 3 bks. (2) Ὑπομνήματα σκεπτικά (πρὸς τοὺς μαθηματικούς), in 11 bks.

The chief MSS. are: (1) **M**=Monac. gr. 439, 14th cent. (2) **L**=Laur. 81, 11, A.D. 1465. (3) **E**=Par. 1964, 15th cent. ($\mathbf{P}_1$ in Weber). **A**=Par. 1963, A.D. 1534 ($\mathbf{P}_3$). **B**=Berolinensis Phillippicus 1518, A.D. 1542.

Ed. pr.: Latin version of (1) by H. Stephanus, Paris, 1562; of (2) by Gentianus Hervetus Aurelius, Antwerp, 1569; Greek text, P. and J. Chouët, Geneva, 1621.

TI. CATIUS **SILIUS** ITALICUS (A.D. 25–101).

Punica, 17 bks. The tradition is bad since Silius was neglected in antiquity and little read in mediaeval times. His text was rediscovered in 1416–1417 by Poggio at St. Gall. Poggio's copy (which like the original MS. has disappeared) is the parent of all existing MSS. Of these the best are: **L**=Laurentianus 37. 16, A.D. 1457, **F**=Aedil. Florent. Eccl. 196, 15th cent., **O**=Reginensis-Oxoniensis 314, 15th cent., and **V**=Vaticanus 1652, 15th cent. At the end of the 16th cent. a MS. apparently of the 9th cent. was discovered at Cologne. It has since been lost, but is known from the reports of L. Carrio (*Emendationum &c. libri*, 1576) and F. Modius (*Nouantiquae lect.* 1584).

Ed. pr.: Rome, 1471. Index in Lemaire's ed., Paris, 1823.

SOPHOCLES (496–406 B.C.).

Seven tragedies. A large fragment of a Satyric play, the Ἰχνευταί is preserved in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (No. 1174).

MSS.: **L**=Laurentianus 32. 9, 11th cent., containing the seven plays of Sophocles, seven of Aeschylus (where it is cited as **M**), and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. (Facsimile, Thompson and Jebb, London, 1885.) **A**=Parisinus 2712, 13th cent., containing six plays of Euripides, seven of Sophocles, and seven of Aristophanes. Γ or **G**=Laurentianus 2725, written in A.D. 1282, contains *Ai.*, *Elect.*, *O. T.*, *Phil.*

There are large numbers of MSS. which show a close affinity to **L** or **A** but are of no independent value. Besides these there is the group known as the 'Libri Tricliniani', containing the recension made by Demetrius Triclinius circ. 1300. The best MS. of this bad group is **T**=Parisinus 2711, 14th cent.

The seven surviving plays represent a selection made probably by the same early scholar who edited the selections from Aeschylus and Euripides (q. v.). The text which lies behind this selection is undoubtedly the Alexandrine text, gravely corrupted and not as well attested as in Euripides. The text presented by all the MSS. is singularly uniform, e. g. all omit *Antigone* 1167 ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν, which is known only from Athenaeus, and this uniformity led to the view originated by Burges and strongly supported by Cobet and others that all MSS. were ultimately derived from **L** which is conspicuously the best. But **L** omits *O. T.* 800 which is present in all the later MSS. And the old scholia are not all derived from **L**. Hence this view has now been surrendered by most critics. **L**, it is clear, was copied from a faulty archetype, and then corrected by the second hand $\mathbf{L}^2$ from another MS. which represented a slightly different but independent tradition. This tradition survives in **A**, which is of great importance since it represents fully a tradition whose readings were only selected by the second hand of **L**. Γ is a 'contaminated' MS. which combines the two traditions given by **L** and **A**.

The scholia are best preserved in **L**. They are largely founded on the learning of Didymus (1st cent. B. C.) and contain references to still earlier scholars, e. g. Praxiphanes (*O. C.* 900), circ. 300 B. C. The latest authority quoted is Herodian (circ. 160 B. C.). They do not imply a text perceptibly sounder than what now survives, and support the view that the tragic texts had been largely corrupted before the Alexandrine era. Edition by P. N. Papageorgius, Leipzig, 1888; cf. Jebb, *Sophocles*, Cambridge, 1897, pp. xxvi sqq.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1502, based principally on Marcianus 467, a MS. akin to **A**.

Index: Beatson, Cambridge, 1830; *Lexica*, Ellendt, Berlin, 1872; Dindorf, Leipzig, 1870. Index to *scholia uetera* in Papageorgius' ed., Leipzig, 1888.

P. Papinius **STATIUS** (? A.D. 45–96).

(1) *Thebais* in 12 bks. Best MS. is **P**=Parisinus 8051 (Puteaneus), late 9th cent. It forms a class by itself. The best representatives of the second class are **B**=Bambergensis N. 4. 11, 11th cent.; **D**=St. John's College, Cambridge (Dovoriensis), 10th cent.; **K**=Gudianus 54, 10/11th cent.; **N**=Philippicus

Cheltoniensis, 10/11th cent.; **Q**=Parisinus 10317, 10th cent. **P** and the rest are derived from the same archetype, probably a minuscule MS. of the 8th cent., **P** being a later copy than the exemplar from which the rest are derived. The archetype probably had a number of variants which, since they cannot be explained on grounds of graphical corruption, are held by Phillimore to point to a second edition of the poem by the author. As most of these δεύτεραι φροντίδες are preserved by **P**, its importance for the text is very great. Scholia attributed to Lactantius Placidus who is otherwise unknown.

(2) *Achilleis*, a fragment in 2 bks. **PQK** as above, and Etonensis, ? 11th cent.

(3) *Siluae*, in 5 bks. **P**=a codex found by Poggio in 1416 or 1417, probably of 9/10th cent., now lost. **M**=Matritensis M. 31, written circ. 1417. **A***=readings of P written by Angelo Politian in the margin of a copy of the ed. princeps now in the Corsini Library. Many vulgar MSS. of little value.

All MSS., it is now generally believed, are descended from **P** through **M**. **M**, which is therefore the prime authority for the text, is probably the copy which Poggio had made for himself by a scribe of whose ignorance he complains. **A***, according to Politian's own statement, were taken from the exemplar which Poggio brought from France. This exemplar cannot be the same as **M** since **M** contains a line (i. 4. 86) which Politian says was absent from his original. It must therefore have been **P** itself, and **A*** is therefore of high value. Against this view v. H. W. Garrod, *Cl. Rev.* 1912, p. 263.

Ed. pr.: *Theb.* and *Achill.* circ. 1470; *Siluae* (with Tib., Catull., Propert.), Venice, 1472. Index in Delphin ed. (Beraldus), 1685, and in Lemaire, Paris, 1830.

Iohannes **STOBAEUS** (circ. A. D. 500).

Ἀνθολόγιον in 4 bks., arranged in two τεύχη or volumes. Hence the separate titles Ἐκλογαί and Ἀνθολόγιον came into use during the Middle Age.

MSS. of *Eclogae*: **F**=Farnesinus, bibl. nat. Neapolit. III. D. 15 (Cyrill. 299) (paper), 14th cent. **P**=Parisinus 2129 (paper), 15th cent. **L**=Laurent. pl. 8. 22, 14th cent., containing a gnomology of sacred and profane writers.

MSS. of *Florilegium*: (1) **S** = Vindobonensis Sambuci (phil. gr. 67), 11th cent.; Marcianus class. iv. 29, 14/16th cent., from which ed. pr. is printed. (2) **M** = Escurialensis Mendozae, no. 90, 11/12th cent.; **A** = Par. gr. 1984, 14th cent. (a much inferior MS.).

Ed. pr.: Ἀνθ., V. Trincavellus, 1536; Ἐκλ., G. Canter, Plantin, Antwerp, 1575.

STRABO (circ. 64 B.C.—A.D. 19).

Γεωγραφικά, in 17 bks. The text is exceedingly corrupt. For bks. 1–9 the best MS. is **A** = Paris. 1397, 12th cent. **C** = Paris. 1393, 13/14th cent., contains bks. 1–17 with a large lacuna in bk. 7. Fragments of a MS., possibly of the 7th cent., were discovered by Cozza-Luzi (1875) in the Cryptoferratensis, a palimpsest in the Vatican.

There exist also Tables of Contents (κεφάλαια) and Epitomes, e.g. Ep. Palatina in Heidelbergensis 398, 10th cent.: Ep. Vaticana in Vat. 482, 14th cent. The *Eclogae* by Georgios Gemistos (Plethon), preserved in Venetus 379, are of no value.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, Venice, 1516.

Gaius **SUETONIUS** Tranquillus (circ. A.D. 75–160).

(1) *De vita Caesarum* (8 bks.). All MSS. are descended from a lost archetype which was mutilated at the beginning (perhaps a copy of a MS. written in capitals and known to Servatus Lupus in A.D. 844). The best extant MSS. are: **M** = Parisinus 6115 (Memmianus), 9th cent.; **G** = Gudianus 268, 11th cent.; **V** = Vaticanus 1904, 11th cent., ending at Calig. 3. 3.

(2) *De illustribus grammaticis et claris rhetoribus.* This is a fragment of the treatise *De viris illustribus*, and is preserved in the MSS. of the *Dialogus* and *Germania* of Tacitus (q.v.).

Ed. pr.: Campanus, Rome, 1470. Index in Delphin ed. (Babelon), 1684.

SUIDAS (circ. A.D. 976).

Dictionary of Words and Things. The chief MSS. are: **A** = Parisinus 2625, 13th cent., and **V** = Vossianus F. 2.

Ed. pr.: Chalcondylas, Milan, 1499.

SULPICIA (wife of Calenus, Mart. X. xxxv, xxxviii).

Seventy hexameter lines are known from the editions of

Merula (1498) and Ugoletus (1499), which are derived from a codex Bobiensis found in 1493 and now lost. The authenticity of the poem has been questioned.

PUBLILIUS **SYRUS** (fl. 50 B.C.).

Sententiae preserved from his mimes in various collections.

A collection is mentioned by A. Gellius 17. 14. The collection has now to be reconstructed from (1) **o**=collection in Veronensis 168, A.D. 1329. (2) Palatine collection **Π** in Vaticanus 239, 10/11th cent. (3) Zürich collection **z**=Turic. C. 78, 9th cent. and Monac. 6369, 11th cent. (4) Seneca collection **Σ**, which is entitled 'Senecae Prouerbia', preserved in a large number of MSS., e.g. **P**^{a}=Paris. 2676, 9th cent. (5) The Freising collection, **Ψ**=Monac. 6294, 11th cent., is a combination of (2) and (4).

Ed. pr.: in Erasmus, *Dionys. Cato*, Strassburg, 1515.

Index in W. Meyers' ed., Leipzig, 1880.

CORNELIUS **TACITUS** (consul A.D. 98, d. after 117).

The minor works all descend from a codex of the 10th cent., discovered at Hersfeld by Enoch of Ascoli in 1455 and brought by him to Rome. This contained: (1) the *Germania*; (2) *Agricola*; (3) the *Dialogus* and a fragment of *Sueton. de grammaticis et rhetoribus*. It has been shown recently that the only portion of this codex which survives is now at Jesi in the library of Count Balleani. It contains eight original leaves of the *Agricola* bound up with a 15th cent. transcript of the remaining six leaves. For the *Agricola* accordingly this is the archetypal MS. (C. Annibaldi, 1907).

(1) *Dialogus de oratoribus*. Two copies of Enoch's MS. were made, the first, **X**, by a careful but ignorant scribe, who did not understand the contractions; the second, **Y**, by a scribe with more pretentions to scholarship. To **X** belong, **A**=Vat. 1862 and **B**=Leidensis Perizonianus 18; to **Y** belong, **C**=Neapolitanus Farnesianus iv. c. 21, **D**=Vat. 1518, and others. The tendency among critics has been to prefer the **Y**-group, but any text must be eclectic.

(2) The *Agricola*. Jesi MS. (*supra*) supplemented by Toletanus 49. 2 (a direct copy), and **Γ**=Vat. 3429, written by Pomponius Laetus, **Δ**=Vat. 4498. The text of Puteolanus circ. 1475 is from a MS. akin to **ΓΔ**.

(3) *Germania*, written in 98. The Renaissance copies of Enoch's MS. (v. *supra*) fall into two groups: **X** including **B**= Vat. 1862, **b**=Leidensis Perizonianus; **Y** including **C**=Vat. 1518, **c**=Farnesianus. The lost Hummelianus is now recognized to have been a descendant of Enoch's MS.

(4) *Historiarum libri* (from A.D. 69 to the death of Domitian), probably in 14 bks., of which 1–4 and half of 5 survive. The text, together with *Annals* 11–16, depends entirely on Mediceus 68. 2, 11th cent., from Monte Cassino.

(5) *Ab excessu diui Augusti annalium libri* (continued to A.D. 69), probably in 16 bks., of which 1–4, part of 5, 6, and 11–16 survive. The text of 1–6 depends entirely on Mediceus 68. 1, 9th cent., from Korvey. For 11–16 v. (4) *supra*.

Edd. pr.: *Ann.* 11–16, *Hist.*, *Germ.*, *Dial.*, Venice (J. Spirensis), circ. 1470; *Ann.* 1–5, Beroaldus, Rome, 1515; *Agric.* (with Pliny, *Panegyr.* and Petronius) Puteolanus, Milan, circ. 1482.

Lexicon Taciteum, A. Gerber and A. Greef, Leipzig, 1903.

PUBLIUS **TERENTIUS** AFER (d. 159 B.C.).

Wrote six comedies, all of which are extant: (1) *Andria* (166 B.C.). (2) *Hecyra* (165). (3) *Heautontimorumenos* (163). (4) *Eunuchus* (161). (5) *Phormio* (161). (6) *Adelphoe* (160).

The best MS. is **A**=Vaticanus 3226 (Bembinus), 4/5th cent., written in rustic capitals. It belonged to Bernard Bembo, father of Pietro Bembo. All other MSS. are interpolated and are derived from the recension made by Calliopius, a grammarian of unknown date. They fall into three groups, of which δ the older approximates to the text of **A**, γ is further removed, while μ have a mixed text.

δ=**D** Victorianus, Laurent. 38. 24, 10th cent. **G** Decurtatus, Vat. Lat. 1640, 11th cent. **V** Fragm. Vindobonense, Vind. Phil. 263, 10th cent. Contains:—*Andr.* 912–981; *Ad.* Per. and 26–158.

γ=**P** Parisinus Lat. 7859, 9/10th cent. Illustrated **C** Vaticanus Lat. 3868, 9/10th cent. Illustrated. **B** Basil. Vat. H. 79, 10th cent. Is a copy of **C** with traces of the readings of **D**.

μ=**F** Ambrosianus H. 75 *infr.*, 10th cent. Illustrated. **L** Lipsiensis, Stadtbibl. Rep. 1. 37, 10th cent. **E** Riccardianus $\frac{\text{M iv}}{\text{xxx}}$ (528) 11th cent.

It is probable that the Palliatae of Terence were published in

a standard edition soon after his death. Hence the original prologues are preserved, and also the original endings to the plays. The *Andria*, it is true, has two spurious endings, but they are absent from the best and oldest MSS., and were never included in any of the standard recensions. The text has been preserved by a long line of scholars beginning in the second century B.C. with L. Accius (the tragedian), Volcacius Sedigitus, L. Aelius Stilo, and M. Terentius Varro, and continued by M. Valerius Probus (1st cent. A.D.), Aemilius Asper, Arruntius Celsus, Helenius Acro, Euanthius, Aelius Donatus (4th cent. A.D.). The Periochae or metrical arguments to the plays were composed by C. Sulpicius Apollinaris of Carthage, the teacher of Aulus Gellius and the Emperor Pertinax.

The condition of the text in the 4/5th centuries A.D. is shown by the Bembine **A**, which in spite of its manifest superiority could hardly be read with comfort by the ordinary reader of that time. The task of making the text more readable was undertaken by a certain Calliopius—a Greek like Euanthius in all probability, and not a Roman of high rank like many of the redactors of the 4/6th cent. A.D. The date of this recension is uncertain. It must be later than the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D. since it contains the Periochae of Apollinaris, and is perhaps later than the middle of the 4th cent., since the Didascaliae which it gives seem to be influenced by the Prefaces of Aelius Donatus. All the MSS. except **A** show the influence of the Calliopian recension. There is considerable doubt, however, as to the right principle of classification. Some critics (esp. *Usener*, Rh. M. 28. 409; *Leo*, ibid. 38. 335) have placed the illustrated MSS. **P C F** in a separate class from the rest. But there is evidence that **D** rests upon an illustrated MS., and the illustrations in **P** and **C** do not always agree with the inscriptions at the beginning of the scenes and probably do not come from the same source as the text. It is still disputed whether class δ or class γ represent most accurately the original Calliopian recension. The view (in the main that of Dziatzko and E. Hauler) adopted in the classification given above is that class γ contains the truest representatives of the Calliopian recension, which was greatly in vogue after he 5th century owing to the readable texts which it provided. It influenced

other texts akin to the Bembine **A** and its readings were imported into them. Such texts are represented by class δ. Class δ accordingly stands nearest to the text of **A**, class γ is further removed. Whether this view be right or not is of little practical consequence since the text of Terence depends almost wholly on **A**.

Commentaries and Scholia :—

The most important commentary is that which passes under the name of Aelius Donatus (4th cent.). It includes all the plays with the exception of the *Heaut.* It is of considerable use in restoring the text: e.g. in *Adelph.* 522 Donatus preserves the correct reading *misere nimis cupio*, where **A** has *miser uiuos cupio* and the other MSS. *misere cupio.* It also contains valuable information concerning the Greek originals of the plays. The work of Donatus, however, has not survived in its original form, but has been overlaid with much later work. No satisfactory critical edition exists. The commentary of *Eugraphius* is not older than the 10th cent. and is of little value. Occasionally a possible reading is found in it: e.g. *Phorm.* 175 *retinere an uero amittere* accepted by Umpfenbach; *retinere amare amittere* codd.; *retinere amorem an mittere*, Bothe. There are scholia in **A D G E C F** and in Monacensis 14420 of 11th cent.

The *subscriptio* in the Calliopian MSS. is generally found at the end of each play 'Calliopius recensui(t)'. In **P C B** it occurs at the end of the *Phormio* in the form 'Terenti Afri explicit comoedia Phormio feliciter Calliopio bono scholastico'.

In **A** the plays are arranged in what was (wrongly) supposed to be the order of their composition: *Andr., Eun., Heaut., Phor., Hec., Ad.* The other MSS. present different arrangements.

Ed. pr.: Strassburg, circ. 1470. Index in Delphin ed. (Camus), 1675.

THEOCRITUS (fl. circ. 270 B.C.). Bucolic poems.

His poems were originally published separately. Hence the name εἰδύλλια, just as Pindar's poems are called εἴδη, because each is written in its εἶδος ἁρμονίας. In the age of Sulla the poems were collected with those of other Bucolic poets into a corpus by Artemidorus, whose son Theon published a commentary. Other scholars edited them subsequently, e.g. Munatius

(contemporary with Herodes Atticus), Amarantus (contemporary with Galen). No codex is older than the 13th cent. **K** = Ambrosianus 222, 13th cent. **M** = Vat. 915, 13th cent. **B** = Patavinus, a lost codex of Bucaros (Capodivacca): its readings are preserved in the Juntine edition and that of Callierges, both published in 1516. **V** = Vat. 1824, 14th cent. **L** = Par. 2831, 14th cent. **Tr** = Par. 2832, belonging to Demetrius Triclinius (also known as **M**). **C** = Ambrosianus B. 75, 15/16th cent., which alone preserves xxx Ὦιαι τῷ χαλεπῷ. **D** = Par. 2726, 14th cent.

The traditional order, which is disregarded by Wilamowitz, dates only from Stephanus' edition of 1566.

Besides poems 1–16, which are contained in nearly all good MSS., there are indications of two larger collections which have been designated **Φ** and **Π**. Both contain 1–16, 25, Μεγάρα, 17, Βίωνος ἐπιτάφιος, 22 and 18. **Φ** alone contains 20, 21, Ἔρως δραπέτης, 19, Ἀδώνιδος ἐπιτάφιος, εἰς νεκρὸν Ἄδωνιν, 23, Ἐπιθαλάμ. Ἀχ. **Π** alone contains 24, 26, 28, 27, 29, Ἐπιγράμματα and Πέλεκυς. In the above MSS. **Φ** = **V L Tr.**, **Π** = **B C D.**

In 1, 3–13 **K** is of most value. It is closely followed by **M** and **B.** In 14, 2, 15–18 **K** is still of high importance, though the **Φ**-group is indispensable.

Ed. pr.: Milan, 1480 or 1481 (printed with Hesiod).

Index: Rumpel's Lexicon, Leipzig, 1879.

THEOGNIS (second half of 6th cent. B.C.).

Elegiac poems in two books: I, lines 1–1230. II, containing 158 lines of love poetry (*Musa Paedica*).

The best MS. is **A** = Parisinus 388, 10th cent. (sometimes called the Mutinensis, although it was never at Modena but was brought by the French in the Napoleonic wars at the beginning of the 19th cent. from somewhere in North Italy). It is the sole authority for the second book. **O** = Vaticanus 915, 13th cent., is also of high value. There is a considerable number of inferior MSS. which are of little value.

The condition of the text is discussed on p. 46. The case for the authenticity of all or nearly all the Theognidea is best put by E. Harrison, Cambridge, 1902.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, Venice, 1495, with Theocritus 1–30.

Index: in J. Sitzler's ed., Heidelberg 1880: *Poet. Min. Gr.*, ed. Gaisford, vol. iii.

THEOPHRASTUS (circ. 372–287 B.C.).

Χαρακτῆρες in 32 chapters, dating probably from the beginning of the Byzantine age (6th cent. A.D.).

All MSS. descend from a mutilated archetype. In this an introduction was prefixed by the interpolator as well as epilogues to some of the chapters. From this edition descend: **A**=Par. Gr. 2977, 10/11th cent., **B**=Par. Gr. 1983, 10th cent., **V**=Vat. Gr. 110, 13th cent. It is still debated whether the inferior MSS. of 14/16th cent. have any intrinsic value, and Cobet and Diels deny that they have. **AB** contain characters 1–15 and 30. § 6–16; **V** the last 15. It is the sole authority for 29 and the greater part of 30. **M**=Monacensis Gr. 505, 15th cent., known as the Munich Epitome, contains 1–21 in a shortened form.

Ed. pr.: Pirckheimer, Nuremberg, 1527 (15 Characters); G. B. Camozzi in Aristotle, Venice, 1552 (23 Characters); Casaubon, 1599 (28 Characters); Amaduzzi, Parma, 1786 (the first to contain 29–30 from **V**).

Index in H. Diels' ed., Oxford, 1909.

(2) Περὶ φυτῶν ἱστορίας, 9 bks. (3) Περὶ φυτῶν αἰτιῶν, 6 bks. (4) A fragment Περὶ λίθων. (5) Περὶ πυρός. (6) Περὶ αἰσθήσεων καὶ αἰσθητῶν. (7) Ἐκ τῶν μετὰ τὰ φυσικά, and shorter fragments of other works.

MSS.: (2), (3) The best is **U**=Vaticanus Urbinas 61. **M**=Medicei Laurent. plut. 85, codd. 3 et 23. (4) **A**=Vat. 1302. **B**=Vat. 1305. **C**=Vat.-Urb. 108. (5) **A** as in (4). **F**=Laurentianus pl. 87. 20. **P**=Par. 1921. (6) **F P** as in (5). (7) **A** as in (4). **B**=Laurentianus pl. 28. 45.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1498, with Aristotle.

Index in I. G. Schneider's ed., vol. v, Leipzig, 1821.

THUCYDIDES (circ. 460–400 B.C.).

History of the Peloponnesian War in 8 bks. Marcellinus 58 mentions an arrangement in 13 bks. and Diodorus 12. 37 one in 9. The fresh introduction to v. 26 seems to indicate that Thucydides' plan included originally only the Archidamian War.

A=Cisalpinus siue Italus, Par. suppl. Gr. 255, 11/12th cent. **B**=Vat. 126, 11th cent. **E**=Heidelbergensis 252 (Palatinus), 11th cent. (the only good codex containing the lives). **C**=Laurentianus plut. 69. 2, early 10th cent. **F**=Monacensis 480

(Augustanus), 11th cent. **G**=Monacensis 228 (paper), 13th cent., upper margin damaged. **M**=Britannicus, Mus. Brit. 11. 727, 11th cent. **H**=Par. 1734, 15th cent.

These fall into two groups: (1) **C G**. (2) **B A E F M**. Both are ultimately to be referred to the same archetype. It is noticed by H. S. Jones that they are more in conflict in bks. 1–2 than in the remaining books. A reading supported by **C G E**, **C G M**, and occasionally by **G M**, is not to be rejected lightly. After vi. 92. 5 **B** and **H** follow a separate recension not found in the other MSS. This often preserves the true reading.

The papyrus fragments **O**=Oxyrhynchium no. 16, 1st cent., containing iv. 36; **W**=Faiumense, containing viii. 91, agree with the codd. save in minor details. **O** does not favour either group: **W** agrees with **C G**.

Valla's translation, published in 1452, contains valuable readings, due either to his own conjectures or to the MSS. which he used. The quotations in ancient writers such as Dionysius Halicarnassensis rarely outweigh the evidence of the MSS. Scholia are scanty and of little value.

Ed. pr.: Aldus, 1502.

Index: Von Essen, Berlin, 1887; Lexicon, Bétant, Geneva, 1843.

Albius **TIBULLUS** (died 19 B.C.).

Elegies in 2 bks.: the third book contains a collection of poems by Lygdamus, the *Panegyricus Messallae*, and poems on Sulpicia.

The tradition is late and bad. The best MSS. are **A**= Ambrosianus R. 26 sup., 14th cent.; **V**=Vat. 3270, 15th cent. Both are derived from the same source, **A** being the better. **ψ**= the *recentiores*, which are really editions made by the scholars of the Renaissance (cf. p. 102). The lost *Fragmentum Cuiacianum* was of greater importance than any existing MS. Some of its readings are known from Scaliger's notes, which are preserved at Leyden.

There are excerpts belonging to the 10th and 11th cent., the Frisingensia (preserved in Monacensis 6292) being the most valuable.

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1472 Index in Delphin ed. (P. Silvius), 1680.

TIMOTHEUS (circ. 448-358 B. C.). Fragment of a citharoedic Nomos entitled Πέρσαι was discovered in 1902 in a grave near Abusir, Egypt. The papyrus, which dates from the 4th cent. B. C., is now in the Berlin Museum (P. 9875).

Ed. pr. with index: Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Leipzig, 1903.

GAIUS **VALERIUS FLACCUS** SETINUS BALBUS (d. circ. A. D. 90).

Epic, *Argonautica*, in 8 bks.

V = Vaticanus 3277, 9th cent., and **S** = Sangallensis (containing i-iii and iv. 1-317), now lost, but known through Poggio's apographum Matritensis, x. 81. The Sangallensis preserves the same tradition as the Vaticanus, but is not a copy. A further source has been sought in a lost codex quoted by Carrio in his edition, Antwerp, 1565.

Ed. pr.: Bologna, 1474. Index in Lemaire's ed., Paris, 1824.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS (under Tiberius).

Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri ix. Abridgements by Iulius Paris and Ianuarius Nepotianus. The direct textual tradition rests upon **A** = Bernensis 366, 9th cent., and **L** = Florentinus 1899 (Ashburnhamensis), 9th cent., which come from a similar source. There is also a valuable indirect tradition in Vaticanus 4929, 10th cent., of Paris' abridgement, which was made from a MS. of high quality. Bk. x, de praenominibus, found in this abridgement, is a stray epitome of another work (possibly the *Exempla* of Hyginus) which has become part of Paris' epitome.

Ed. pr.: Strassburg, circ. 1470. Index in Delphin ed. (P. J. Cantel), 1679.

MARCUS TERENTIUS **VARRO**, of Reate (116–27 B. C.).

(1) *De lingua Latina*, in 25 bks., of which 5–10 survive in Mediceus 51. 10, 11th cent., a MS. from Monte Cassino in a Lombardic hand. It contains also the *Pro Cluentio* of Cicero and the *Ad Herennium*. All other MSS. of the *De lingua* are descended from it.

Ed. pr.: Rome, circ. 1471.

(2) *Rerum rusticarum libri* iii. The tradition is the same as in the works of Cato (q. v.).

Ed. pr.: Venice, 1472, in the *Scriptores de Re Rustica*.

Index in vol. iii of Keil's ed., 1902.

Gaius **VELLEIUS** Paterculus (under Tiberius A.D. 14–37).

Historiae Romanae, in 2 bks. The only authorities are the copies of **M**=Murbacensis, a MS. discovered in 1515 by Beatus Rhenanus and subsequently lost. To these belong (1) the ed. pr. by Rhenanus, which was printed from his transcript and contains in an appendix a collation with **M** by his pupil A. Burer; (2) a copy of R.'s transcript made by B. Amerbach in 1516 (Bibl. Acad. Basileensis, A. N. ii. 8).

Ed. pr.: by Rhenanus, Basel, 1520. Index in Delphin ed. (R. Riguez), 1675.

Publius **VERGILIUS** Maro (70–19 B.C.).

1. *Bucolica*, i.e. 10 Eclogues. 2. *Georgica*, in 4 bks. 3. *Aeneis*, in 12 bks. 4. *Appendix Vergiliana*, containing a number of poems, some of which may be authentic.

The tradition of the text is exceedingly good and uniform. The chief MSS. are: **A**=Schedae Vaticano-Berolinenses (2nd/3rd cent.). These are fragments of a codex formerly at St. Denis; three leaves are at Berlin (codex Augusteus) and four at Rome (Vat. 3256): **F**=Sched. Vaticanae 3225, 3rd/4th cent.; **G**=Sched. Sangallenses 1394, palimpsest, 4th cent.; **M**=Mediceus 39. 29, 5th cent., with the *subscriptio* 'Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius u. c. et inl. ex comite domest. protect. ex com. priu. largit. ex praef. urbi patricius et consul ordin. legi et distincxi codicem fratris Macharii u. c. non mei fiducia set eius cui si (? cuius) et ad omnia sum deuotus arbitrio xi Kal. mai. Romae'.

P=Palatinus Vat. 1631, 4/5th cent.; **R**=Romanus Vat. 3867, ? 6th cent.; **V**=Sched. Veronenses, palimpsest, 4th cent.

F M P R V are closely related, **A** and **G** are of less value. None of these codices is complete. The text rests mainly on the consensus of **M P R**. γ=a minuscule codex Gudianus, fol. 70, 9th cent., is often of use to decide between conflicting readings.

The commentary of *Servius* (4th cent.) is of great value. It is preserved in a long form, first published by P. Daniel in 1600, and in a shorter and more authentic form, first published by R. Stephanus in 1532.

Ed. pr.: Strassburg or Rome, circ. 1469.

Index: H. Merguet, Leipzig, 1909; M. N. Wetmore, New Haven, 1911.

(4) *Appendix Vergiliana.* The following poems are attributed

to Vergil in the introduction to Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid*: *Ciris*, *Aetna*, *Culex*, *Priapea*, *Catalepton* or *Epigrammata*, *Copa*, *Dirae*. With these a few other poems are associated in the surviving MSS., viz. *Moretum*, *Est et non*, *Vir bonus*, *Maecenas*. At an early date there were two collections, (1) containing *Culex*, *Dirae*, *Copa*, *Est et non*, *Vir bonus*, *Rosae*, *Aetna*, *Moretum*. This collection is represented, though in a fragmentary form, in Vaticanus Bembinus 3252, 9th cent.: Fragmentum Stabulense, i. e. Paris. 17177, 10th cent., and in a number of later MSS. For the *Aetna*, besides the Frag. Stabulense, the chief authorities are Cantabrigiensis KK. v. 34, 10th cent., and a lost MS. of Claudian, quoted by Lilius Gyraldus. (2) Another collection, viz. *Ciris*, *Catalepton*, is best preserved in Bruxellensis 10675–6, 12th cent., and a number of later MSS.

M. VERRIUS FLACCUS (Augustan age).

De uerborum significatu survives partly in the epitome by Pompeius Festus and partly in an abridgement of Festus made by Paulus Diaconus (end of 8th cent. A. D.).

The sole authority for *Festus* is the Farnesianus, 11th cent., which when discovered by Rhallus in 1477 consisted of nine quaternions out of an original sixteen, and contained part of the letter M to the letter V. Three of these nine have since been lost (viz. 8, 10, and 16), and their contents are only known through Renaissance copies.

The MSS. of *Paulus* fall into two classes: (1) best represented by Monacensis 14734, 10/11th cent.; (2) by Guelferbytanus, 10th cent.

Ed. pr.: probably Milan, 1471.

VITRUVIUS POLLIO (under Augustus).

de Architectura, 10 bks.

H=Harleianus 2767, 9th cent.; **S**=Scletstatensis 1153 bis, 10th cent.; **G**=Gudianus 69, 11th cent. All come from the same archetype.

An abridgement also exists made by M. Cetius Faventinus in the 3rd cent.

Ed. pr.: by J. Sulpitius, Rome, circ. 1486.

Index: H. Nohl, Leipzig, 1876.

XENOPHON (circ. 434–355 B. C.).

(1) Κύρου ἀνάβασις in 7 bks.

The best MS. is **C**=Parisinus 1640, A. D. 1320. Three other MSS. are descended from it. Of the deteriores the best are **D**=Bodleianus Canon. 39, 15th cent., and **V**=Vindobonensis 95, 15th cent. A papyrus fragment of the 3rd cent. A. D. (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrhynch. Pap.* iii, p. 120) agrees in the main with **C**, but also presents readings peculiar to the dett. Athenaeus in his quotations supports the text of the dett.

(2) Κύρου παιδεία in 8 bks.

The chief MSS. are (1) **C**=Parisinus 1640, 14th cent.; **E**=Etonensis, 15th cent. (2) **H**=Escorialensis T. 3. 14, 12th cent.; **A**=Parisinus 1635, 14th cent.; **G**=Guelferbytanus 71. 19, 15th cent.; **V**=Vat. 1335, 12th cent. (3) **D**=Bodleianus Canonicianus 39, 15th cent.; **F** (or **D**)=Erlangensis, 15th cent. Of these the most important for the text are **C H D F**. Other aids to the criticism of the text are the Constantine excerpts (10th cent.) and papyrus fragments of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. The papyri do not support any one class.

(3) Ἑλληνικά in 7 bks., a continuation of Thuc. down to the date of the Battle of Mantinea (362). (1) The better class. **B**=Parisinus 1738, 14th cent. It is mutilated in bk. 7, where the evidence of others of the same group, e. g. Vaticanus Palatinus 140, 14th cent. (paper) has to be taken. **M**=Ambrosian. A 4 *inf.*, A. D. 1344, is also of value. (2) Deteriores, e. g. **C**=Parisinus 2080, 15th cent. The papyri support the MS. tradition.

(4) Ἀγησίλαος. The MSS. are the same as in the Hiero. The best is **A** (v. *infra*), from which some think all the other MSS. are derived.

(5) Ἱέρων. MSS. in two groups: (1) **A**=Vaticanus 1335, 12th cent. To the same class belong inferior MSS., such as **N**=Marcianus 511, 12th cent. (2) A large group of MSS. of the 15th cent. All MSS. are derived from the same archetype, which was faulty and not of great antiquity. Quotations in Stobaeus and Athenaeus.

(6) Ἀπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους. 4 bks. **A**=Parisinus 1302, 13th cent. (contains only bks. 1–2). **B**=Parisinus 1740, 13th cent. The inferior MSS. are of use, e. g. **C**=Par. 1642 (**D** in *Hellenica*). All are derived from a common archetype different from the text used by Stobaeus.

(7) Οἰκονομικός. MSS. very numerous. The most important are **E, F** = Laur. 80. 13, 13 14th cent., and 85. 9, 13th cent. **M** = Lips. 96, 14th cent. **V** = Marc. 511, 13th cent., and **H** = Reginensis 96, 12 13th cent. Their relations to one another are still imperfectly known. All from one archetype. Papyrus fragments of 1st cent. A. D. (Grenfell and Hunt, *Oxyrh. Pap.* ii. 120).

(8) Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους. Same tradition as Hiero and Agesilaus. **B** = Vaticanus 1335, 12th cent. (corrections made in the 14th cent.). This or a similar MS. lies behind **A** = Vaticanus 1950, 14th cent., and **Ha** = Harleianus 5724, 15th cent. Quotations in Stobaeus.

(9) Συμπόσιον. Two groups of equal value: (1) e.g. **A, B** = Parisini 1643, 1645, 15th cent.; **H** = Vindob. 37. (70), 15th cent. (2) **C** = Par. 2955, 15th cent.; **D** = Laurent. 85. 9, 13th cent. **D** is probably the parent of the Juntine ed.

(10) Minor writings: (*a*) Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία. [(*b*) Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία, not by Xen. but composed circ. 424, perhaps by Critias.] (*c*) Πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων. (*d*) Ἱππαρχικός. (*e*) Περὶ ἱππικῆς. (*f*) Κυνηγετικός. All are contained in **L** = Laurentianus 53. 21, 14th cent. For (*a*) there is also Vat. 1335, vide (8), and many late MSS. For (*b*) Vat. 1950, vide (8), **C** = Vat. 1335. For (*c*) there is a fragment in **C** = Par. 2955, also Vat. 1950 and Vat. 1335. For (*d*) Paris. 1643 and several late MSS. (*e*) Paris. 1643 and Par. 2955. (*f*) Paris. 2737.

Ed. pr.: *Hellenica*, Venice, 1503; *Apologia*, Reuchlin, 1520; *Opera*, Euph. Boninus, Florence (Junta), 1516.

Index: Lexicon, F. W. Sturz, Leipzig, 1801–1804; G. A. Sauppe, Leipzig, 1869; *Anabasis*, K. W. Krüger, Berlin, 1851; *Memorabilia*, M. Kellogg, Cornell Studies, 1900.

CHAPTER IX

THE NOMENCLATURE OF GREEK AND LATIN MSS. WITH THE NAMES OF FORMER POSSESSORS.

The custom of writing critical editions of classical authors in Latin has led to the general use of Latin names for manuscripts. The following Index has been compiled in the hope of rendering some of the obscurer names intelligible to those whose studies are not directly concerned with Textual Criticism.

In most instances such names are geographical and are taken from the place where a manuscript was first discovered, e.g. the Lucensis of Martial retains the name of Lucca, the town where it was found, although it is at present in Berlin; or from the monastery, town, or library to which the manuscript once belonged or still belongs, e.g. Bobiensis, Montepessulanus, Vindobonensis. Often the designation has been taken from the name of some private owner, e.g. codices Puteanei, Brunckiani. Occasionally fanciful names have been invented to indicate the beauty, size, shape, or age of the book, or the colour of the ink or parchment, e.g. codex Gigas, Oblongus, Quadratus, Augusteus, Aureus, Argenteus, Purpureus, Ruber, Nitidus, Ornatus, Tersus, Decurtatus.

The full description of a manuscript as given in the catalogue of the authorities used in a critical edition should consist of (*a*) the name or names by which the manuscript has been known to scholars at any period; (*b*) the press-mark which it bears in the catalogue of the library to which it at present belongs; (*c*) the *siglum* or abbreviated mark (usually a letter or number) by which the editor denotes its readings in his *apparatus criticus*; and (*d*) information as to its size and shape and the style of its handwriting.

Thus the full description will often give more than one name

if the manuscript has passed through several hands since it became known to scholars, e.g. codex Bernensis olim Bongarsianus; cod. Franekeranus nunc Leeuwardensis 45, olim Genevensis, pridem Cluniacensis.

Where a library has been catalogued on modern principles the system employed will rarely cause any difficulty. The separate collections are merged into one large catalogue, usually termed a Summary Catalogue, in which every manuscript has a particular number assigned to it. The Summary Catalogue will not give a full description and history of the manuscript, but merely sufficient information to enable the student to identify it. For further information the older catalogues of the various collections must still be consulted.

To avoid the use of excessively high numbers the manuscripts catalogued are usually subdivided into groups according to the language in which they are written, and sometimes according to their size and the nature of their subject-matter; e.g. Parisinus Fonds Grec 2712; Vindobonensis Hist(orici) 34, Jurid(ici) 33; Berolinensis Theolog. Lat. Fol. 481. At Paris the size is denoted by the following letters:

P, petit format, i.e. up to 27 centimetres
M, moyen „ „ from 27 to 37 „
G, grand „ „ from 37 to 50 „
A, atlas „ „ from over 50 „

Accessions are usually denoted by press-marks such as: Suppl(ementum), Append(ix), Nouv(elles) Acq(uisitions), Add(itional) MSS.

In the smaller libraries, and in some of the older collections which have been incorporated with larger libraries, the press-marks are introduced by the Latin word for book-case, press, or desk; e.g. scrinium, pluteus, theca, armarium, foruli. Or by the Latin title of the room or building in which the collection is preserved; e.g. Repositorium, Auctarium, Archium, Tabularium, Thesaurarium. The rarest possessions of a library are sometimes called Cimelia, as at Ratisbon. The Cotton collection, which now forms part of the British Museum, is still catalogued by the names of the twelve Caesars, Cleopatra and Faustina, whose busts stood over the original cases, e.g. Cottonianus Nero D. 4.

If a manuscript is of any importance for the constitution of a text a *siglum* or abbreviated sign must be used for denoting its readings when given in the *apparatus criticus*. Usually some letter of the Greek or Latin alphabet is employed, capital letters being reserved for the important manuscripts and lower-case letters for the less important. A small number placed above the *siglum* is generally used to denote the handwritings in which additions or corrections have been made since the MS. was first written. Thus P^2 denotes the reading of the second hand, P^3 of the third.

Where a manuscript has been mutilated and its fragments or parts are in different libraries the symbol + is often used to indicate the connexion that exists between them, e.g. Vossianus F. 70. 1 + Canonicianus Lat. Class. 279 are parts of the same MS. of Seneca's letters; Vossianus 79 + Paris. 1750 of Servius; Bern. 347+357+330+Paris. 7665, a MS. of excerpts by Heiric of Auxerre.

The following are the chief works of reference:

Geographical Names.

Lexicon Geographicum, M. A. Baudrand, Paris, 1570.

Universus Terrarum Orbis, Alphonsus Lasor a Varea [i.e. R. Savonarola], Padua, 1713.

Orbis Latinus, J. G. T. Graesse, Dresden, 1909.

Gallia Christiana, P. Piolin, 1870.

Italia Sacra, F. Ughellus, 1717.

Lexicon Deutscher Stifter, Klöster und Ordenshäuser, O. F. Grote, Osterwieck, 1881.

Thuani Index, Genevae, 1634, an index to the latinized names in De Thou's history, will sometimes be found useful.

Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte, Heussi und Mulert, Tübingen, 1905.

Historical Atlas of Modern Europe, ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1902.

Directories of Libraries.

Adressbuch der Bibl. der öst.-ung. Monarchie, J. Bohatta u. M. Holzmann, Wien, 1900.

Adressbuch der deutschen Bibl., P. Schwenke, Leipz. 1893.

Minerva, published annually by Trübner, contains the best and most accessible information. The various volumes contain accounts of the more important libraries.

General Catalogues of MSS.

B. de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, 2 vols., Paris, 1739.

G. Haenel, *Catalogi librorum mscr. qui in bibl. Galliae, Helvetiae, Belgii, Britanniae servantur*, Lips. 1830.

V. Gardthausen, *Sammlungen u. Cataloge griechischer Handschriften*, 1903 (an off-print from *Byzantinisches Archiv*).

W. Weinberger, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Wien, 1902 (a list of libraries containing MSS. of ecclesiastical writers).

J. L. Heiberg, *Übersicht besonders der griech. Handschriftenkataloge. Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1907, pp. 707–14.

Special Catalogues, etc.

Mediaeval Libraries.

G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Berlin, 1885.

Th. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipz. 1890.

Austria-Hungary.

A. Goldmann, *Verzeichnis der öst.-ungar. Handschriftenkataloge* in *Zentralblatt f. Bibl.*, 1888, v, p. 1 sqq.

E. Gollob, *Verzeichnis der gr. Handschr. in Oest.-Ungarn*, Wien, 1904. This does not include Vienna.

Xenia Bernardina, vol. ii. *Die Handschriftenverzeichnisse der Cistercienstifte*, Wien, 1891.

Belgium.

A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Lille, 1641.

H. Omont, on Greek MSS. in Belgium in *Revue de l'instruction publique*, vols. 27–8.

France.

L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1868–1881.

U. Robert, *Inventaire sommaire des mss. des bibl. de France*, Paris, 1896.

Catalogue général des libl. publiques de France, 1893–1903. This includes the libraries of Paris (with the exception of the Bibl. Nat.) and of the departments.

H. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire des mss. grecs*, 4 vols., Paris, 1886–1898. Contains the Greek MSS. in French provincial libraries.

Great Britain.

E. Bernard, *Catalogi libr. manuscr. Angliae et Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1697.

Holland.

H. Omont, on Greek MSS. in *Zentralblatt f. Bibl.*, 1886, vol. iv, pp. 185, 562.

Italy.

F. Blume, *Iter Italicum*, 4 vols., Halle, 1824-1836, containing a good bibliography of all preceding works. *Bibliotheca libr. MSS. Italica*, Göttingen, 1834.

G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d' Italia*, 13 vols., Forli, 1891–1904. Catalogues for the most part of the smaller Italian libraries which contain few classical works.

E. Martini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci*, Milan, 1893.

Biblioteche dello Stato, Rome, 1893 (unfinished), gives a list and description of Italian public libraries.

Scandinavia.

U. Robert, *Cabinet historique*, 1880, vol. 26, p. 119.

C. Graux et A. Martin, *Notices somm. des mss. grecs de Suède. Archives des Missions scientifiques*, Third Series, 1889, xv, p. 293.

Spain.

R. Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, Vienna, 1894.

C. Graux et A. Martin, *Notices somm. des mss. grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Paris, 1892.

Switzerland.

H. Omont, *Cat. des mss. grecs des bibl. de la Suisse. Zentralblatt f. Bibl.*, vol. iii (1886), pp. 385–452; vol. viii (1891), p. 22.

Names of Scholars, Collectors, etc.

F. A. Eckstein, *Nomenclator Philologorum*, Leipz. 1871.

W. Pökel, *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexicon*, Leipz. 1882. A useful but uncritical work.

The less known scholars and collectors are often difficult to identify. Some will be found in:

C. G. Jöcher, *Gelehrten-Lexicon*, 4 vols., 1750;

Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, 1732–1751;

and in the various national Dictionaries of Biography.

NOMENCLATURE.

A

Abbatiae de Florentia, monasterium. La Badia, Florence, It. MSS. now in the Laurentian among those of the Conventi Soppressi.

Abrincensis, Abrincatuanus (Abrincae, Abrincatae), Avranches Fr. (Taranne*: Omont*.)

Absarensis (Absarus), Ossero in Dalmatia. Monastery of S. Nicholas. Library dispersed.

Accidas, Manuel Atzidas of Rhodes presented MSS. to Sixtus V in 1585. In Vatican.

Acquaviva, MSS. of this family at Naples (Girolamini) and Vienna.

Acragantinus (Acragas, Agrigentum), Girgenti, Sicily. Bibl. Lucchesiana (A. Mancini, 1898). Mostly Oriental MSS.

Admontensis, Admont, Steiermark, Austr. Library of the College of S. Patak. (Wichner, 1897.)

Aedilium Florentinae ecclesiae, s. v. Florentinus.

Aegianus, MSS. once belonging to Aegius Benedictus of Spoleto (fl. *circ.* 1550), cleric, antiquary, and lecturer on the classics at Paris.

Aegidius, Cardinal, of Viterbo, It.; d. 1532. MSS. at Hamburg.

Aemilianus, S. Millán de la Cogolla, Sp. Now in library of Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.

Aesiensis (Aesis), Jesi, It.

Affligeniensis, the monastery (Benedictine) at Afflighem or Affleghem, near Malines, Belg. (Cat. of 1642 in Sanderus, *Bibl. Belg.*)

Agendicum s. v. Senonensis.

Agenensis, the Jesuit College at Agen, Fr. MSS. came into possession of the Jesuits of Clermont. v. Claromontanus (1).

Agnesiana, library at Vercelli, It.

Agobardinus, MSS. of Agobard or Agobald, Abp. of Lyons; d. 840. (e.g. Paris. lat. 1622.)

Agricola, Rudolphus (1442-1485), German philosopher and scholar. s. v. Palatinus.

Agrippinas, Cologne, Germ. s. v. Coloniensis.

Alani codd., MSS. of Henry Allen of Dublin, editor of Cicero. Now in the possession of his son Samuel Allen of Dublin.

Albae-Juliensis, s. v. Weissenburgensis.

Albertina, the University Library, Leipzig, Germ.

Albiensis, Albigensis, Albi, Fr. (Libri: Portal*.)

Albornoziana, s. v. Bononiensis.

* Catalogues marked with an asterisk will be found in the *Catalogue général des bibl. publiques de France*, 1849-1885 and 1893-1903.

Alcobacensis, Bibl. Alcobatiae, i.e. of the Benedictine monastery of Alcobaça. Now at Lisbon, Portugal. (Catalogue, Lisbon, 1775.)

Alderspacensis, Aldersbach, near Passau, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Aleander, Hieronymus (1480–1542), Cardinal, librarian to Leo X. MSS. in Vatican.

Alexandrinus, (1) Bibl. Alexandrina, a portion of the Vatican Library founded by Alexander VIII in 1690 out of the collections of Queen Christina and of Pius II (s.v. Vaticanus). (2) University Library (Bibl. Alessandrina) in Rome founded by Alexander VII, 1667. (H. Narducci, 1877.) (3) The codex Alexandrinus of the Greek Bible given to Charles I in 1627 by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, came from Alexandria. It is now in the British Museum.

Allatius, Leo (1584–1667), Greek scholar and theologian. MSS. in Vatican and Vallicelliana.

Almelovee(n)ianus, MSS. collected by Theodore Jannson van Almeloveen, 1657–1712, Professor of Classics and of Medicine at Harderwyk, Holland.

Alnensis, Aulne, Belg. (Sanderus, *Bibl. Belgica*, ii. 234, gives a catalogue for 1632.)

Altaempsianus, the MSS. of the Dukes of Altaemps and Galesi, an Italian family descended from the Counts of Hohen-Ems. Their collection, which included the MSS. of Albertus Pius (d. 1529) and Johannes Angelus Altaemps (d. 1627), was purchased by Cardinal Ottoboni and is now part of the Ottoboniani (q. v.).

Altaha superior, Ober-Altaich, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Altaha inferior, Nieder-Altaich, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Alt(d)orfinus, MSS. at University of Altdorf, Germ. Now at Erlangen.

Altenburgensis, Altenburg, Germ. At Düsseldorf.

Alteriana, libr. of Altieri family at Rome. Blume, *Bibl.*, p. 159.

Althorp, library founded by Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland (1674–1722), and increased by George John Spencer, second Earl Spencer (1758–1834). Sold in 1892 to form nucleus of Rylands Library. s. v. Mancuniensis.

Altissiodurensis, also Aut-, Ant-, Auxerre, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Altmonasteriensis, Altmünster, Germ. At Munich.

Altovadensis (Vadum altum), Hohenfurth, Bohemia.

Amandinus, s. v. S. Amand.

Ambergensis, Amberg, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Ambianensis (Ambianum), Amiens, Fr. The library contains Corbeienses, Fontanellenses, and MSS. of S. Petri Selincuriensis and S. Acheul. (E. Coyecque; Michel*.)

Ambrasianus, Castle Ambras in Tyrol, Austria. Library transferred to Vienna in 1665. (Th. Gottlieb, Ambraser Hss., 1900.)

Ambrosianus, library founded at Milan, It., in 1609 by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo (1564-1631). It includes the collections of Pinelli and Merula. (Gk. MSS., Martini e Bassi, 1905.)

Amerbachianus, Boniface Amerbach of Basel, Switz. (1495-1562), Professor of Law; friend of Erasmus.

Amiatinus, Monastery San Salvatore di Monte Amiata, near Siena, It., suppressed in 1786. MSS. transferred to monastery of Castello Nuovo, Florence, and from thence to the Laurentian.

Amplonianus, s. v. Erfurtensis.

Amstelodamensis (Amstelodamum), Amsterdam, Holland. Library of the University or Athenaeum illustre. MSS. of Foucault and Granvella. (H. C. Rogge, 1883; Omont.)

Andegavensis (Andegavum), Angers, Fr. Library of the Abbaye de S. Aubin, now dispersed. (Molinier*.)

Andreensis, the Skiti or monastery of S. Andrew on Mt. Athos.

Andros, Greece, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας. (Sp. Lambros.)

Angelica, library at Rome founded by an Augustinian monk, Angelo Rocca (1545-1620), in 1605. Once the library of the Coenobium S. Augustini de urbe. Now in Piazza S. Agostino. Contains MSS. of Passionei (s. v.) and part of Holstenius' library. (H. Narducci, 1893; F. de' Cavalieri and J. Muccio in *Studi ital. di filologia* iv, p. 7; cf. T. W. Allen, *Class. Rev.* 1889, p. 345.)

Angelomontanus, Engelberg, Switz. MSS. dispersed. (B. Gottwald, 1891.)

Annabergensis, Annaberg, Germ. The Franciscan house here was secularized in 1558. Some of its MSS. are in the present School Library.

Antissiodorensis, s. v. Alt-.

Antoniana, (1) library at Padua, It. (Josa, 1886.) (2) A library formerly at Venice whose MSS. are quoted by the older scholars (e. g. Cic. *Epp. ad Att.*).

Antwerpiensis (Antwerpia, Handoverpia), Antwerp, Belg. (1) Library of the Musée Plantin, purchased from the Plantin firm of printers (1576-1876) in 1876. (H. Stein, 1886; Omont.) (2) Municipal Library (Omont).

Apponyi, the library of Count Louis App., which contained a few classical MSS., was sold in London (Sotheby) in 1892.

Aquensis (Aquae Sextiae), Aix, Fr. MSS. from the Grand Séminaire are now at Marseilles.

Aquiscinctum, Anchin, Fr. MSS. at Douai.

Aquisgranensis (Aquisgranum), Aachen, Germ.

Arcerianus, Joh. Arcerius Theodoretus, Professor of Greek at Franeker, editor of Iamblichus (1538-1604). His MS. of the Agrimensores is now at Wolfenbüttel.

Arelatensis (Arelas, Arelate), Arles, Fr. MSS. now at Marseilles.

Argentoratensis, Argentinensis (Argentoratum, Argentina), Strassburg, Germ. MSS. partly destroyed in 1870, v. M. Vachon, Paris, 1882.

Armamentarii Parisiensis, Bibl. de l'Arsenal. s. v. Parisiensis.

Arosiensis (Arosia), Västerås, Sweden. Högre allmänna läroverksbiblioteket. (P. Olai, 1640; W. Molér, 1877.)

Aroviensis (Arovia, Araugia), Aarau, Switz.

Arsenius, s. v. Suchano.

Arsinoiticus, papyri discovered at Arsinoe in Egypt.

Arundelianus, MSS. of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1586-1646), presented to the Royal Society in 1667 by Henry Howard, afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk (1628-1684). Transferred to the British Museum in 1831. The collection contains the MSS. of Willibald Pirkheimer. (Cat. Forshall, 1840.)

Ascalingium, Hildesheim, Germ.

Ashburnhamensis, s.v. Barrois, Libri.

Ashmoleanus, MSS. of Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), antiquary; transferred in 1858 to the Bodleian from the Museum which he founded in 1677. (W. H. Black, 1845-1857.)

Askevianus, Anthony Askew (1722-1774), physician, but better known as a classical scholar. His library, which included MSS. of Mead and Taylor, was dispersed in 1785. Cf. Burneianus, Hauniensis, Severnianus. (Catalogue of sale, 1785.)

Asola, Giov. Francesco d' (Jo. Franciscus Asulanus), a collector who presented many MSS. to Francis I in 1542 for the library at Fontainebleau. He was the father-in-law of Aldus Manutius.

Atheniensis, Ἐθνικὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, Greece. (Sakkelion, 1892.)

Athous, the libraries at Mt. Athos, Turkey. (Sp. Lambros, 1895-1900.) The name is also applied to MSS. brought from Mt. Athos, e. g. for Séguier (at Paris) and by Minas, Simonides, and others.

Atrebatensis (Atrebatae), S. Vaast or Vedast of Arras, Fr. (J. Quicherat*.)

Audomarensis, Audomaripolitanus (Audomaropolis), S. Omer, Fr. MSS. partly at Boulogne. (H. Michelant*; Framezelle*.)

Augiensis, (1) Augia Major or Dives, Reichenau near Constance, Switz., s. v. Reichenaviensis. (2) Augia Alba, Weissenau, Germ. (3) Augia Minor, Minderau, Germ.

Augustanus, (1) Augsburg (Augusta Vindelicorum), Germ. There are a few classical MSS. in the Kreis- und Stadtbibl. Most MSS. from the town and church libraries were transferred to Munich in 1806. MSS. from the surrounding monasteries have since been added (cf. Eichstätt, including Rebdorfenses). (G. C. Mezger, 1842.)

(2) Bibliotheca Augustea, Wolfenbüttel, founded by Herzog August in 1644. (O. von Heinemann, 1884–1890.) (3) Occasionally used for Augusta Trevirorum, i. e. Trèves.

Augusteus, (1) the Berlin and Vatican palimpsest of Vergil (Schedae Berolinenses or Puteaneae). It was given this title by G. H. Pertz, who thought that it belonged to the age of Augustus. (2) Used for Augustanus (*supra*).

Augustinus, the library of Antonius Augustinus (Agustin) (1516–1586), Abp. of Tarragona, Spain. Now in the Escurial. (M. Baillus, 1586).

Augustobonensis (Augustobona Trecassium), Troyes, Fr. Cf. Trecensis.

Augustodunensis (Augustodunum), Bibliothèque du grand séminaire, Autun, Fr. (Libri*.)

Aureatensis (Aureatum), Eichstätt, Germ. Kgl. Bibl. in fürstbischöfl. Sommer-Residenz. (Bethmann.) Cf. s. v. Augustanus.

Aurea Vallis, Orval, Cistercian monastery in Luxembourg. At Paris.

Aurelianensis (Aurelianum), Orléans, Fr. MSS. of G. Prousteau (s. v. Proustelliana), who inherited the collection made by H. Valesius. (Septier, 1820; Cuissard *.)

Ausonensis, Vich (Ausa nova, also called Vicus), Sp.

Autesiodorensis, s. v. Altiss-.

Autricensis, s. v. Carnutensis.

Auximensis (Auximum), Osimo, It. Bibl. del Collegio. (Mazzatinti.)

Avaricensis (Avaricum), Bourges, Fr. Cf. Bituricus. (de Girardot; H. Omont*.)

Avellanensis, Fonte Avellana, Umbria, It.

Avennionensis (Avenio), Avignon, Fr. (1) Relics of the Papal Library survive among the Fuxenses in Bibl. Nat. Paris and in the Borghese collection in the Vatican. (2) Bibliothèque d'Avignon, Musée Calvet (L. H. Labande, 1892.)

Aviculae codd., e. g. the Nostradamensis of Quintilian, formerly in the possession of Antoine Loisel (1536–1617), a French jurisconsult, pupil of Ramus and friend of Pithou. Many of them were inherited by his grandson Claude Joly (d. 1700), precentor and canon of Notre-Dame, who left them to the library of Notre-Dame, which since 1756 has become part of the Paris Library (s. v. Nostradamensis).

B

Babenbergensis, Bamberg, Germ. s. v. Bamb-.

Badia, s. v. Abbatiae de Florentia.

Baiocensis, Bayeux, Fr.

Balliolensis, Balliol College, Oxford. (H. O. Coxe.)

Balmensis, Baume-les-Messieurs, Fr.

Baluzianus, Étienne Baluze (1630-1718), French historian; librarian to Colbert, q.v. His MSS. were purchased for the Royal Library, Paris, in 1719.

Bambergensis (Bamberga, Babenberga), Bamberg, Germ. Kgl. Bibliothek. (H. J. Jaeck, 1831–1835; F. Leitschuh, 1887.) Cf. Helleriana. Some Bamberg MSS. at Munich. Early history in L. Traube, *Abhandl. der historischen Klasse der Kgl. Bayer. Akad.* xxiv, Part i, 1906.

Bankesianus, William John Bankes (d. 1855), traveller and M.P. He acquired the papyrus of Homer which bears his name in the island of Elephantine, Egypt, in 1821. It was purchased for the British Museum in 1879.

Barbarus, Hermolaus (1454–1494), Italian humanist. MSS. in Vatican (Orsini), Bodleian (Canonici).

Barberin(ian)us, Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), nephew of Urban VIII, founder of the Barberini Library, Rome, which contained many MSS. from Grottaferrata (Cryptoferratenses) and also the collection of his librarian Lucas Holstenius (Holste) (1596–1661). In the Vatican since 1902. (Gk. MSS.: S. de Ricci, *Rev. des Bibliothèques,* 1907; Perleoni, *Studi It.,* 1907.)

Barc(h)inonensis (Barcino), Barcelona, Sp. (E. Volger, *Serapeum* viii, p. 273.)

Barlow, MSS. of Thomas Barlow, librarian of Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1652–1660, afterwards Bp. of Lincoln. Now in Bodleian.

Baroccianus, MSS. of Giacomo Barocci of Venice (v. J. P. Tomasini, *Bibl. Venetae,* p. 64; Blume, *Iter Ital.,* i. 233), given to the Bodleian by William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, in 1629. (H. O. Coxe, 1853.) Cf. s.v. Cromwellianus and Roe.

Barrois, Joseph (1785–1855), bookseller and bibliographer. His collection of MSS. (most of which were stolen from public libraries at Paris and elsewhere) was sold by him to Lord Ashburnham in 1849.

Basilianus, (1) s. v. S. Basilii. (2) MSS. from Basilian monasteries at Grottaferrata, Messina, Rome (Vatican), Venice.

Basilicanus, (1) The Chapter Library at S. Peter's, Rome (Tabularium Capituli Basilicae Vaticanae). (2) Used by some of the earlier scholars to describe a MS. belonging to any cathedral library, e.g. the Hittorpianus of Cicero.

Basileensis (Basilea), Basel, Switz. (Haenel, pp. 513-660; Steuber, *Serapeum,* 1856, xvii, p. 129.) Library contains the MSS. of John of Ragusa (d. 1443), Amerbach, Froben, and Faesch.

Batthyanianus, library founded by Ignatius, Count Batthyány (1741–1798) at Siebenbürgen, Transylvania. Now at Karlsburg. (A. Beke, 1871.)

Bavaricus, Munich, Bavaria. s. v. Monacenses.

Beccensis, Bec, Fr. MSS. at Évreux, Rouen, and in the Vatican.

Bellaevallensis, Belval, Fr. MSS. at Charleville.

Bellofontanensis, s. v. Fonteblandensis.

Bellopratensis, Beaupré, Belg. MSS. at Brussels.

Bellunensis (Bellunum), Belluno, It. (Bibl. Lolliniana). (Mazzatinti.)

Belvacensis, Bellovacensis (Bellovacum), S. Pierre de Beauvais, Fr. MSS. from Luxeuil once here are in Le Caron Library (q. v.).

Bembinus, Bernardo Bembo (1433-1519), and his son the humanist Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). MSS. in the Vatican (Ursiniani, Urbinates); few at Modena (Mutinensis) and at Venice.

Benedictoburanus, Benedictbeuern, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Benzelius, Ericus, Abp. of Upsala (d. 1709). MSS. at Linköping and Upsala.

Beratinus, Berat, Macedonia.

Bernard Edward (1638–1697), Fellow of S. John's College, Oxford, and Savilian Professor of Astronomy. His MSS. (many of which had been purchased at the sale of Nicholas Heinsius' library in 1682) were purchased by the Bodleian in 1698. (Madan, *Summary Cat.*, iii, p. 1.)

Bernegger, Matthias (1582–1640), Austrian scholar. MSS. at Breslau.

Bernensis (Berna), Berne, Switz. Stadtbibliothek contains the MSS. of Bongars (presented in 1631), among which are included those of P. Daniel. (J. R. Sinner, 1760–1772; H. Hagen, 1874–1875.)

Berolinensis (Berolinum), Berlin, Germ. (1) Kgl. Bibl., founded 1661. (Greek, *Manuscripta Graeca,* C. de Boor, 1897; Codd. Phillippici, W. Studemund and L. Cohn, 1890. Latin, V. Rose has catalogued the Phillipps collection and the old library of the elector.) Other Lat. MSS. in Diez, Savigny, and Hamilton collections. (2) Universitäts-bibl., founded 1829. All MSS. have been transferred to the Kgl. Bibl.

Berry, s. v. Bituricus.

Bertinianus, Benedictine monastery at S. Bertin, near S. Omer, Fr. At S. Omer and Boulogne.

Bertoliana, library at Vicenza, It., founded in 1708 by will of G. M. Bertoli, a lawyer (1631–1707). (Mazzatinti; an account by D. Bortolant Vicenza, 1893.)

Bessarion, Johannes or Basilius (1395–1472), created cardinal in 1439, bequeathed his library to Venice, where it forms part of the Marciana. MSS. formerly in his possession are also at Grottaferrata and Munich. He obtained many of his MSS. from the monastery of S. Nicholas, at Casole near Otranto. (s. v. Hydruntinus.) (Omont, *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1894.)

Besuensis, Bèze, Côte-d'Or, Burgundy, Fr.

Betouwianus, MSS. of I. van Betouw (1732–1820), Dutch advocate, left to the library at Leyden in 1821.

Beverina, s. v. Hildeshemensis.

Beza, Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605), of Geneva, theologian, friend of Calvin.

Bigaugiensis, s. v. Pigaviensis.

Bigotianus, Jean Bigot of Rouen and his son Émeric (1626–1689). Their collection was sold in 1706 to the Royal Library, Paris. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 322. Cat. by Delisle, 1877.)

Bituricus (Bituricae), (1) Bourges, Fr. (Omont*.) MSS. of S. Sulpice, S. Cyran, Chezal-Benoît (Casalinus). (2) MSS. belonging to the collection of Jean de Berry (1340–1416), brother of Charles V of France. Dispersed at his death. MSS. in Bourges, Paris, Brussels, London. (L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Ch. V*, 1907.)

Blandinius, s. v. Blankenbergensis.

Blankenbergensis, Blankenberg (Mons Blandinius), a Benedictine monastery near Ghent, Holland.

Blankenburgensis, library at Schloss Blankenburg, Brunswick, transferred to Wolfenbüttel in 1753.

Blavibornensis, Blaubeuren, Germ.

Blesensis, Blois, Fr. The library of the kings of France at Blois was begun by Charles VIII, who appropriated after his campaign in 1495 the collections made by the Aragonese kings of Naples (esp. Ferdinand I). The library at Blois was transferred to Fontainebleau by Francis I and later to Paris.

Bliaudifontanus, s. v. Fonteblandensis.

Bobiensis (Bobium, Ebobium). Monastery of S. Columban at Bobbio, It. Its MSS., mostly palimpsests, were neglected by the humanists except Parrhasius (1499), who discovered some which he presented to the Neapolitan monastery of S. Giovanni a Carbonara. These are now in the Bibl. Nazionale at Naples. Others are now in the Vatican (given by Paul V) and at Milan (procured by F. Borromeo in 1609), Turin, and Wolfenbüttel. (A. Peyron, 1824.)

Bochart, Samuel (1599–1667), minister of reformed church at Caen. MSS. at Caen (Cadomensis).

Bodleianus, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1598. The chief collections containing classical MSS. are: Ashmole, Barlow, Barocci, Bernard, Canonici, Clarke, Cromwell, Digby, D'Orville, Douce, Laud, Meerman, Rawlinson, Roe, Saibante, Selden (all described in this index, s.v.).

Boernerianus, (1) Kaspar Boerner, librarian at Leipzig *circ.* 1540. Cf. *Cat. Codd. MSS. Bibl. Paulinae,* L. J. Feller, 1686, pp. 1–59. (2) Christian Friedrich Boerner (1683–1753), Professor of Theology at Leipzig and librarian. MSS. at Leipzig (University Library).

Boherianus, Jean Bouhier (d. 1671) and his grandson of the same name (d. 1746). Their collection of MSS. was purchased in 1781 by the abbey of Clairvaux. It passed to Troyes during the Revolution. In 1804 it was transferred partly to the National Library at Paris and partly to the library at Montpellier. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 266.)

Boistallerianus, Jean Hurault, Seigneur de Boistaillé (d. 1572), ambassador at Constantinople and collector of MSS. His library was purchased for the Bibliothèque Royale, Paris, in 1622. A few of his MSS. are at Leyden and in Arsenal Library, Paris. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 213.)

Bonellus, F. Michaele Bonelli, Cardinal of Alexandria, nephew of Pius V. MSS. in Casanatense, Rome.

Bongarsianus, Jacques Bongars (*circ.* 1554–1613), jurist and critic, maître d'hôtel to Henry IV of France. His collection of over 500 MSS. was derived from Strassburg, S. Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury), S. Mesmin at Micy (Miciacensis) near Orléans, and from the collections of Cujacius and P. Daniel (s. v. Danielinus). He left it to Jacques Gravisset (b. 1598), who presented it to the University Library at Berne (1631). There are a few isolated codices elsewhere, e.g. Amsterdam. Cf. Bernensis.

Bonifatianus, s. v. Fuldensis.

Bonnensis, Bonn, Germ. Kgl. Universitäts-Bibl. (A. Klette and J. Ständer, 1858–1878.)

Bononiensis (Bononia), (1) Boulogne, Fr.; includes the MSS. of S. Vaast of Arras and of S. Bertin of S. Omer. (Michelant*.) (2) University Library at Bologna, It. (Gk. MSS., Olivieri and Festa, 1895; Puntoni, 1896.) (3) Biblioteca Comunale in the Archiginnasio, Bologna, It. (4) Bibl. Collegii Hispanici (Collegio di Spagna), Bologna, founded by Cardinal Albornoz (d. 1367). (Blume, *Bibl.*, p. 81.)

Borbetomagensis (Borbetomagus, Gormetia), Worms, Germ. Also Vormaciensis.

Borbonicus, s. v. Neapolitanus.

Bordesholm, Germ. The MSS. from the monastery were transferred to Gottorp and are now at Copenhagen. A few were acquired by Marquard Gude and are now at Wolfenbüttel.

Borghesianus, Biblioteca Borghese, incorporated with the Vatican since 1891. The collection was begun by Cardinal Scipio Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V.

Borgianus, (1) Museo Borgiano, Rome. MSS. now in the Vatican. (2) The Charta Borgiana is a papyrus found in Egypt in 1778. It was purchased by Cardinal Stefano Borgia and is now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.

Borromeo, Frid. (1564-1631), cardinal. MSS. at Milan (Ambros.).

Bosianus, s. v. Crusellinus.

Bosius, J. A. (1626–1674), Professor of History at Jena. MSS. at Jena.

Bouhier, s. v. Boherianus.

Bourdelot, name assumed by P. Michon (1610-1685), a French physician in the service of Queen Christina of Sweden. MSS. in Vatican (Reginenses); also at Leyden and Paris. (Omont, *Revue des Bibl.*, 1891, i. 81–103.)

Brahe, library of Count Brahe now deposited in the Riks-arkiv, Stockholm, Sweden.

Braidense, s. v. Brerensis.

Brancacciana, library of S. Angelo at Naples founded by bequest of Cardinal Francesco Maria Brancaccio in 1675. (Catalogus bibl. S. Angeli ad Nilum, 1750.)

Bregensis, S. Nicholas, Brieg, Switz.

Bremensis (Brema), Bremen, Germ. Cf. Goldastianus. (H. Omont, *Zentralblatt f. Bibl.*, 1890, vol. vii, p. 369; Rump, 1843.)

Brerensis, Brera (or Braidense) Library, Milan, It. (Gk. MSS., E. Martini, 1893.)

Breslaviensis (Vratislavia), Breslau, Germ. s. v. Vratislaviensis.

Britannus, Britannicus, s. v. Londiniensis.

Brixianus (Brixia), Brescia, It. (1) Bibl. Queriniana founded by Cardinal Querini (d. 1755) in 1747. (F. Garbelli, 1882; E. Martini, 1896; Lat. codd. in A. Beltrami, *Studi Italiani*, 1906.) (2) Cathedral Library.

Broukhusianus, Johan van Brouckhuysen or Broekhuizen (1619-1707) of Amsterdam, naval officer and poet. Owned MSS. of Tibullus and Propertius.

Bruehliana, library of Heinrich Graf von Brühl (1700–1763), minister of August III of Saxony. Incorporated with the Kurfürstl. Bibl., Dresden, since 1768.

Brugensis (Brugae), Bruges, Belg. (Laude, 1859.)

Brunck, Richard François Philippe (1729–1803) of Strassburg, editor of Aristophanes and other Greek authors. Many of the MSS. owned by him are now in the Bibl. Nat. at Paris (Fonds du supplément grec) and in Brit. Mus.

Brunsvicensis (Brunsvicum, Brunsviga), Brunswick, Germ. (Nentwig, 1893.) Many MSS. from churches and monasteries in Brunswick are now at Wolfenbüttel.

Bruxellensis (Bruxellae), Brussels, Belg. Bibl. Royale, which contains the Bibl. de Bourgogne (J. Marchal, 1840), founded in the 15th cent. by Philippe le Bon. (Gk. MSS., Omont; Lat. MSS., P. Thomas, 1896.) Contains MSS. of D'Asola, Doverinus, Franquen, Gerard, Lang, Livineius, Schott.

Bucharest, Roumania. Library of the Roumanian Academy. (Gk. MSS., C. Litzica, 1900–1909.)

Budaeus, the family of Budé. (1) Jean Budé (d. 1502), whose collection was dispersed in the 16th cent. (2) His son Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), scholar and librarian to Francis I. B.'s library (which contained few MSS.) was sold on his death to Président François de S. André (d. 1571) and has passed through the Jesuits of Clermont, H. de Mesmes, and Colbert to the Bibl. Nat., Paris. A few MSS. are at Leyden.

Budensis, Budapesti(n)ensis, Buda-Pest, Hungary. University Library (Cat. codd. MSS., Budapest, 1889–1894). Contains MSS. of Matthias Corvinus (s.v.) restored by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. (A. v. Török, 1877.) Some Budenses are at Vienna.

Bunaviensis, Heinrich Graf von Bünau (1697–1762), Saxon minister and historian. His library, of which Winckelmann was at one time librarian, was purchased in 1764 for the Kurfürstl. Bibl., Dresden. (M. Franke, 1750.)

Burdigalensis (Burdigala), Bordeaux, Fr. (C. Couderc.)

Burensis, s. v. Benedictoburanus.

Burghesianus, s. v. Borgh-.

Burgos, Francisco de Mendoza of Bobadilla (1508–1566), Cardinal of Burgos, Sp. MSS. in Escurial.

Burmannus, (1) Pieter Burman, Dutch scholar, Professor at Leyden (1668–1741). His MSS. at Leyden, Holland, since 1777. A few in the Hunterian collection, Glasgow. (2) His nephew, Pieter Burman (1714–1778), Professor at Amsterdam.

Burneianus, MSS. of Dr. Charles Burney (1726–1814), friend of Johnson and father of Frances Burney. Purchased for the Brit. Mus. in 1818. (Forshall, 1834.)

Busbequius, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq (1522–1592), ambassador of the Emperor Ferdinand I in Turkey (1555–1562). He made the first copy of the Monumentum Ancyranum. His Gk. MSS. are now in the Imperial Library, Vienna. (Biography by Forster and Daniel, London, 1881; Viertel, *Busbecks Erlebnisse in der Türkei*, 1902; J. Bick in *Wiener Studien*, 1912, p. 143.)

Buslidianus, MSS. left to the Collegium Trilingue founded at Louvain, Belg., by bequest of Hieronymus Buslidius or Busleiden (1470–1517), ambassador of Maximilian and a friend of More and Erasmus. Now in the University Library, Louvain.

Butlerianus, MSS. belonging to Samuel Butler (1774–1839), Bp. of Lichfield, Eng., editor of Aeschylus.

C

Cabil(l)onensis (Cabillonum), Châlon-sur-Saône, Fr. (Bougenot*.)

Cadomensis (Cadomum), Caen, Fr. (Lavalley *.)

Caesaraugustanus (Caesarea Augusta), Zaragossa, Sp. Pilar Library.

Caesareus, a general term for an imperial library (e.g. Vienna, S. Petersburg).

Caesenas, Cesena, It. s.v. Malatestianus.

Caiogonvilensis, Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.

Cairensis, library of the Gk. Patriarchate, Cairo, Egypt. (O. Schneider, *Beiträge,* 1874, pp. 41–7.)

Calaber, Calabria, It. In ancient times the name Calabria belonged to the SE. peninsula of Italy and included among its most important towns Tarentum and Hydruntum. In the 7th cent. A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Constans, the name seems to have been applied to a large administrative district which included the SW. peninsula (the ancient Bruttium). When the Empire lost its hold on the eastern portion of this district the name Calabria came to be used for the SW. peninsula, which still retains it. The title Calaber is therefore properly applied to MSS. written, discovered, or owned in this western district, which includes such towns as Reggio, Cosenza, Rossano; but it is sometimes loosely applied to MSS. which come from the eastern province, especially by scholars of the Renaissance.

Calabricus, the MSS. of the Duke of Calabria, afterwards Ferdinand I of Aragon (1424–1494), which he left to the monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes near Valencia, Sp. Now in the University Library at Valencia. (Mazzatinti, *La Biblioteca dei Re d'Aragona,* 1897, p. cxxvii, note 4.)

Calariensis (Calaris, Caralis), Cagliari, Sardinia, It.

Calmontensis (Calmontium), Chaumont, Fr. (Gautier *.)

Camaldulensis (Campus Malduli), monastery in province of Arezzo, It. MSS. at Florence.

Camberiacensis (Camberiacum, Chamarium), Chambéry, Fr. (Perpéchon *.)

Camberinensis, Cambron, Belg.

Cameracensis, Camberacensis, Cambrai, Fr. (Molinier *.)

Camerarius, Joachim Kammermeister of Bamberg, Germ. (1500–1574), Professor of Greek at Tübingen and Leipzig. Some MSS. at Munich.

Camerinensis (Camerinum), Camerino, It. Bibl. Valentiniana, founded 1802. (Mazzatinti, *Inventari,* 1887.)

Campianus, the Abbé François de Camps (d. 1723), an authority on law and numismatics, abbot of a Cistercian monastery at Signy, Fr. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i. 321.)

Campililiensis (Campililium), Lilienfeld, Austr. (*Xenia Bernardina* II–III.)

Candidus, s. v. Decembrius.

Canonicianus, MSS. of Matteo Luigi Canonici, a Venetian Jesuit (1727–1805), acquired for the Bodleian in 1817. (H. O. Coxe, 1854; Madan, *Summary Cat.*, iv. 313.) Some MSS. from the C. collection are at Keel Hall, Staffordshire.

Cantabrigiensis, Cambridge, Eng. (1) University Library, containing MSS. of Bp. More (s.v.). (2) College libraries, M. R. James (Caius, Sidney Sussex, Jesus, King's, Trinity, Peterhouse); M. Cowie (S. John's); J. T. Smith (Caius); Nasmith (MSS. of Matthew Parker at Corpus Christi, 1777), embodied in James' catalogue.

Cantuariensis (Cantuaria), Canterbury, Eng. MSS. mostly at Lambeth Palace, London, and Corpus, Camb. (M. R. James, 1903.)

Capellari, s. v. S. Michaelis.

Capilupianus, library of Capilupi family at Mantua, It. (Cf. G. Kupke, *Quellen u. Forschungen*, 1900, iii. 129, and Blume, *Iter Ital.*, i. 162.)

Capitolo Metropolitano, Milan, It. (Gk. MSS., E. Martini, 1893.)

Capo d'Istria, Austria. Franciscan convent of S. Anna (E. Gollob, *Verzeichnis*, 1903.)

Capponianus, the Biblioteca Capponiana bequeathed to the Vatican by the Marchese Alessandro Gregorio Capponi in 1745. Contains a few Latin MSS.

Capranicensis, the Collegio Capranica, Rome, founded by Dominicus Capranica (d. 1456), jurist and bibliophile. MSS. in Vatican.

Carbonensis, MSS. from the Basilian monastery of S. Elia de Carbone, S. It. Now in Vatican and at Grottaferrata.

Carcassonensis (Carcaso), Carcassonne, Fr. (Gadier *.)

Carinthianus, s. v. S. Pauli.

Carlopolitanus (Carlopolis), Charleville, Fr. (Quicherat *, Barbadeaux *.)

Carnutensis (Carnutum, Autricum), Chartres, Fr. (Omont and others *.)

Carolina, library of the Missione Urbana di San Carlo at Genoa, It. (Banchero, 1846; Gk. MSS., A. Ehrhard, *Zentralbl. f. Bibl.*, 1893. Cf. T. W. Allen, *Class. Rev.*, 1889, p. 255.)

Carolinus, the codex of Isidore at Wolfenbüttel is so called after Karl, Duke of W.

Carolsruhensis (Caroli Hesychia), Karlsruhe, Germ. Contains the

collections made by the Margraves and Dukes of Baden for their libraries at Pforzheim, Durlach, Rastatt; the MSS. and books of Johannes Reuchlin (Capnio) of Pforzheim; and the MSS. of monasteries secularized since 1803, e.g. Meersburg, Reichenau, S. Blasien. (Brambach, 1891–1896; Reichenau, Durlach, and Rastatt codices catalogued by A. Holder, 1906.)

Carpensis, s. v. Pius.

Carpentoractensis (Carpentoracte), Carpentras, Fr. Contains some MSS. of Peiresc. (Lambert, 1862; Duhamel *.)

Carrio, Ludovicus Carrio (1547–1595) of Bruges, Belg.; jurist and scholar, rival of Lipsius; cf. p. 116.

Carteromachus, Scipio (1467–1513), Italian scholar. MSS. in Vatican (Orsini).

Casalinus, Chezal-Benoît, Fr. Now at Bourges, a few at Paris.

Casanatensis, library bequeathed by Cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620–1700), librarian at the Vatican, to the Dominican convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. (Audiffredi, 1761; F. Bancalari, *Studi di fil. class.*, 1894.) MSS. of Bonelli.

Casaubon, Isaac (1559–1614), French scholar, librarian to Henry IV of France, on whose death he removed to England, where he received a pension from James I. MSS. at Paris, Oxford (Bodleian), and Brit. Mus. (Royal library).

Caseolinus, Marie Gabriel Florent Auguste, Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier (1752–1817), French diplomatist and antiquarian. Ambassador at Constantinople and, after the Revolution, librarian at S. Petersburg.

Cassellanus (Cassella), Kassel, Germ. MSS. from Fulda.

Cas(s)inensis, Monte Cassino, It. (Bibl. Casinensis, 1874–1894; Caravita, 1869–1871.)

Castiglionensis, Castiglione, N. It. MSS. at Florence (Laur. Conventi Soppressi).

Castro-Theodoricensis, Château Thierry, Fr.

Casulanus, Casole, It. Library of S. Nicholas Casularum. Portions of it are now at Turin and Venice. (G. Colline, 1886.) s. v. Hydruntinus.

Cat(h)alaunensis (Catalaunum), Châlons-sur-Marne, Fr. (Molinier *.)

Catinensis (Catana), Catania, Sicily. Bibl. Universitaria, founded 1755, united in 1783 with Bibl. Ventimilliana. (M. Fava in Zocco Rosa's *Athenaeum*, i, n. 9.)

Cavensis (Cavea), Benedictine monastery at La Cava, Salerno, It.

Cenomanensis (Cenomanum), Le Mans, Fr.

Centulensis (Centula), S. Riquier, Fr.

Cervinus, Marcello Cervini, cardinal, afterwards Pope Marcellus II (d. 1555). Left MSS. to Sirleto (q.v.).

Charcoviensis, Kharkov, Russ. University Library founded 1804 by Alexander I.

Cheltenhamensis, s.v. Phillippsianus.

Chemiacus lacus, Chiemsee, Germ. At Munich.

Chemnicensis, Chemnitz, Germ. At Dresden and Leipzig.

Chifflетianus, Claude Chifflet (1541-1580), Professor of Law at Dôle, Fr., possessor of the MS. of Pliny, *H. N.* used by Dalechamps (1513-1588). Now at Leyden.

Chigiana, library at Rome, in the Palazzo Chigi, founded by Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi) in 1660. (Cat., 1764, Perleoni, *Stud. filolog.*, 1907.)

Chiovensis (Chiovia), Kiev, Russ. Cf. Uspenskyanus. (Petroff, 1875),

Chisiana, v. Chigiana.

Chremissanus, v. Cremisanus.

Cibinensis ecclesia, Hermannstadt on the river Zibin, Hungary, s. v. Kemény.

Cisalpinus, sometimes used for an Italian MS., e.g. A. of Thucydides.

Cisneros, s.v. Complutensis.

Cisterciensis (Cistercium), Citeaux, Fr. At Dijon. (Molinier, Omont*.)

Cizensis, Zeitz, Germ. MSS. of Reinesius. (C. G. Müller, 1806.)

Claravallensis (Claraevallis, Charavallis), Clairvaux, Fr. At Auxerre. Dijon, Montpellier, Troyes.

Clarkianus, MSS. of Edward Daniel Clarke (1769–1822), traveller. Bought for the Bodleian in 1809. (Cat. Oxford, 1812, 1815; Madan, *Summary Cat.*, iv. 297; Life by Otter, London, 1825.)

Claromontanus, (1) Clermont, the Jesuit College at Paris, founded in 1561 by Guillaume Duprat, Bp. of Clermont (Ferrand). After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1595 many of the Clermont MSS. were sold to de Mesmes (s.v. Memmianus) and de Thou (Thuaneus) v. Omont, *Invent. Somm.*, p. xiii. On the second suppression of the order in 1764 some of the MSS. belonging to it were sold to Gerard Meerman. Some of these were bought by Sir Thomas Phillipps in 1824 and sold by his executors in 1887 to the library at Berlin. Others were bought for the University of Leyden. Others are at Leeuwarden and at the Hague, Holland; cf. Pelicerianus. (2) MSS. at Clermont-Ferrand, Fr. (Couderc.*)

Classensis, (1) Bibl. Classense, Ravenna, It. Named after the village of Classe, from which the Camaldulensian monastery which originally owned the library had migrated in 1523. MSS. in the Ravenna Library since 1804. (Gk. MSS., cf. A. Martin, *Mélanges Graux*, p. 553; Mazzatinti.) (2) The Classen Library, Copenhagen, founded 1482, now united with the University Library.

Claustriburgensis (Claustriburgum), Klosterneuburg (founded 1106) Austr. (H. J. Zeibig, 1850.) Cf. Pataviensis.

Cluniacensis, abbey of Cluni, Fr. MSS. dispersed (e.g. at Paris, Holkham). (Cf. Delisle, *Inventaire*, 1884.)

Clusensis, monastery of S. Michael at La Chiusa, Piedmont, It. Library dispersed at some unknown but early date.

Coislinianus, Henri Charles du Cambout de Coislin (1664–1732), Bp. of Metz. He inherited the collection of his grandfather Pierre Séguier (q.v.) and bequeathed it to the Benedictine abbey of S. Germain-des-Prés. MSS. now in Bibl. Nat., Paris. (Catalogue by Montfaucon.) A few at S. Petersburg, s.v. Dubrowski.

Colbertinus, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), Minister of Finance under Louis XIV of France. His collection of MSS. (cf. s.v. Mesmes, Thuaneus) was sold by his descendants to the Royal Library at Paris in 1732.

Collegium Graecum, Gk. College at Rome. MSS., including those of Accidas and others, now in Vatican.

Collegium Romanum, Jesuit College at Rome, near S. Ignazio. MSS. in the Vittorio Emanuele since 1873.

Colmarensis (Colmaria, Columbaria), Colmar, Germ. MSS. from Murbach (A. M. P. Ingold, *Le Bibliographe*, 1897, i. 85.)

Colombina, library at Seville, Sp. Founded in 1539 by Fernando Colón (d. 1540), son of Columbus. Now part of the library of the Cathedral Chapter.

Coloniensis (Colonia Agrippina), Cologne, Germ. (1) The Chapter Library. (Haenel, pp. 979–83; Jaffé and Wattenbach, 1874.) The library was removed to Arnsberg in Westphalia in 1794 when the French invasion was imminent. It was afterwards transferred to Darmstadt and was not returned to Cologne till 1867. (Account by Frenken, 1868.) (2) Stadtbibliothek, cf. Wallrafianus.

Colotianus, Angelo Colocci (1467–1549), secretary to Leo X, Bp. of Nocera, It.; owner of the Medicean Vergil and the Arcerianus (q.v.). (P. de Nolhac, *Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 1887, p. 249.)

Columnensis, the Colonna collection in the Vatican (purchased in 1821). An earlier collection founded by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna and others of the family in the 16th cent. was bought by Johannes Angelus Altaemps and has passed through the Ottoboni collection into the Vatican.

Comburgensis, Komburg, Germ. Cf. Neustetter.

Comensis (Comum), Como, It. (Gk. MSS., E. Martini, 1896.)

Compendiensis (Compendium), S. Corneille, Compiègne, Fr. Now at Paris.

Complutensis. College of S. Ildefonso at Complutum or Alcalá de Henares, Sp., founded by Cardinal Ximenes in 1510. Now in the University Library, Madrid.

Condatescensis (Condatum), Condé, Fr. For Condate, Rennes, Fr., s.v. Redonensis.

Conimbricensis (Conimbrica), Coimbra, Portugal.

Constantinopolitanus, Constantinople. (1) Library of the Seraglio. (F. Blass, *Hermes*, 1888, vol. xxiii, pp. 219, 622.) (2) Patriarchal Library in the Phanar.

Conventi soppressi, MSS. belonging to suppressed monasteries, now in the Laurentian and National libraries, Florence, It.

Corbeiensis (Corbeia), (1) Corbie, Picardy, Fr. The best MSS. were transferred to S. Germain (q.v.) in 1638. Many others at Paris, Amiens, S. Petersburg. (L. Delisle, 1861.) (2) Used for Corveiensis (q.v.).

Corbinianus, the church of S. Maria and S. Corbinian, Freising, Germ. At Munich.

Coriniensis, Cirencester, Eng. In the Cathedral Library, Hereford.

Corisopitensis (Corisopitum), Quimper, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Corneliensis, s.v. Compendiensis.

Corsendonk, Belg. At Brussels.

Corsiniana, library at Rome in the Palazzo Corsini, founded by Cardinal Neri Corsini in 1754. Since 1884 it has been united with the library of the Accademia de' Lincei. (Pélissier, in *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, vol. ix, 1889; Gk. codd. by Pierleoni, in *Studi ital. di fil. class.*, vol. ix, 1901; M. Gachard, *La Bibliothèque des Princes Corsini*, 1869.)

Cortesianum Fragmentum, a supposed fragment of Livy or Cornelius Nepos, produced in 1884 by Cortesi. Now held to be a forgery. (L. Traube, *Paläogr. Forschung.*, Part iv, p. 47, 1904.)

Corveiensis (Corbeia nova), Korvey on the Weser, Germ. The Benedictine house here was founded from Corbie in Picardy in 822. MSS. dispersed. Some are at Wolfenbüttel and at Marburg.

Corvinianus, Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1443(?)–1490). His library at Ofen was neglected and dispersed in the 16th cent. Part found its way into other libraries, part was captured by the Turks in 1526, but restored to the Hungarian Academy in 1869 and 1877. (L. Fischer, 1878; W. Weinberger, 1908; L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 298.)

Cosinianus, John Cosin (1594–1672), Bp. of Durham. His library now at Durham.

Cottonianus, library begun by Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631); dedicated to the public use by his grandson John in 1700. Partly destroyed while in Ashburnham House, Westminster, in 1731. Removed to the British Museum in 1753. Cf. p. 287. (J. Planta, 1802.)

Covarruvianus, Covarrubias, Didacus (Diego) (1512-1577), Abp. of

Segovia, Sp. MSS. at the Palace Library, Madrid. Some MSS. belonging to his brother Antonius have passed through the collections of Pantin and Schott to the library at Brussels.

Cracoviensis (Cracovia), Cracow, Galicia. (1) Jagellonische Universitäts-Bibl. (W. Wislocki, 1877–1881.) (2) Czartoryski Museum, founded by Isabella Princess Czartoryska in 1800. (J. Korzeniowski, 1887–1893.)

Cremifanensis, Cremisanus (Cremisanum Monasterium), Kremsmünster, Austr. (P. H. Schmid, 1877–1881.)

Cremonensis, Cremona, It. Bibl. Governativa (Martini).

Crippsianus, John Marten Cripps (d. 1853), traveller and antiquary, a companion of E. D. Clarke (q. v.) in his travels. He obtained the MS. of Isaeus which is now in the Burney collection in the British Museum.

Cromwellianus, MSS. once forming part of the Barocci collection, presented to the Bodleian, Oxford, by Oliver Cromwell in 1654. (H. O. Coxe, 1853.)

Cruquianus, Jacques Cruucke or De Crusque of Meesen, Flanders, Professor of Greek, Bruges, 1544, d. *circ.* 1588. s.v. Horatius, p. 243.

Crusellinus, a MS. used by Simon du Bos or Dubois (1535–?1580) in his edition of Cic. *Epp. ad Atticum* in 1580. He stated that it belonged to a physician named Petrus Crusel(l)ius (cf. Muretus, *Juvenilia Eleg.* vii). M. Haupt proved in 1855 that this MS. and another cited by du Bos as the Decurtatus were fabrications. Cf. A. C. Clark, *Class. Rev.* 1895, p. 241.

Crusianus, MSS. of Martin Crusius or Krausz (1526–1607), Professor of Greek at Tübingen. MSS. at Munich, Stuttgart, Tübingen.

Cryptoferratensis, Grotta Ferrata, a monastery of monks of S. Basil (founded 1004) near Rome. (A. Rocchi, 1884.) There are MSS. from this monastery in the Vatican (especially the Barberiniana), Naples, Brussels, Paris, Montecassino, Vienna.

Cujacianus, Jacques Cujas of Toulouse, French jurist (1522–1590). Many of his MSS. were bought by Bongars (q. v.). Some at Paris.

Culturensis (S. Petri de Cultura), La Couture, Fr. At Le Mans.

Cunaeus, Petrus Cunaeus (Van der Kun), Professor of Law and afterwards of Latin at Leyden (1586–1638). His MSS. were added to the Leyden Library in 1749.

Curiensis (Curia Rhaetorum), Cur or Chur, Switz.

Curzon, s.v. Parhamensis.

Cusanus, Cues on the Mosel, Germ. Library of Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus (Nicolas Chrypffs or Krebs), 1409–1464. (F. X. Kraus, 1864; J. Marx, 1905; J. Klein in *Serapeum*, xxv. 353.) Preserved in the hospital founded by him at Cues. Some MSS. at Brussels and in the British Museum (Harleiani).

Cygiranensis, S. Cyran, Fr. At Bourges.

Cygneensis (Cygnea), Zwickau, Germ.

Cyriacus, Ciriaco of Ancona, It. (1391–1450), antiquary. MSS. in Vatican (Orsini).

D

Dacicus, title applied to MSS. from Hungary, e.g. codex of Valerius Flaccus supposed to have been in the library of Matthias Corvinus (q.v.), and now in the Vatican.

Dalburgius, Johannes, s.v. Palatinus.

Dalecampianus, Jacques Dalechamps (1513–1588) of Lyon, Fr., physician and scholar, editor of Pliny, *H. N.*

Danesius, Pierre Danès, Bp. of Lavaur, 1497–1577. MSS. at Paris.

Danicus, s.v. Hauniensis.

Danielensis, bibl. com., San Daniele del Friuli, It. s.v. Forojuliensis.

Danielinus, Pierre Daniel, jurist and scholar, of Orléans, Fr. (*circ.* 1530–1603). Purchased codd. after the sack of Fleury (s.v. Floriacensis) by the Huguenots in 1562. He edited Servius' commentary on Vergil in 1600. His MSS. were purchased by P. Petau and J. Bongars. Petau's share was sold by his son to Queen Christina and is now in the Vatican. Bongars' share was left by him together with the rest of his collection to Berne (s.v. Bernensis).

Danneschioldiana, library of Danneskjold-Samsoe, now at Copenhagen. (Catalogue, 1732.)

Dantiscanus (Dantiscum, Gedanum), Danzig, Germ. (A. Bertling, 1892.)

Darmarius, Andreas, a Greek settled in Venice *circ.* 1560, who copied and sold MSS. A list of MSS. known to have belonged to him is given in Melber's *Polyaenus,* 1887, p. xvi.

Darmstadtinus, Hof-Bibliothek, Darmstadt, Germ. (P. A. F. Walther, *Neue Beiträge,* pp. 93–128, 1871.) Cf. Coloniensis.

Datanus, Carlo Dati (1619–1676), Professor of Classics at Florence, 1648. Some MSS. at Berlin.

Daumianus, Christian Daum (1612–1687), schoolmaster and scholar, of Zwickau, where his MSS. still remain.

Daventriensis (Daventria), Deventer, Holland. (Catalogue, 1832–1880; Omont, *Pays Bas.*)

Decembrius, Petrus Candidus, b. Pavia, 1399, Italian humanist. Most of his MSS. were left to the Monastery of S. Maria delle Grazie. A few, perhaps acquired from here by Borromeo in 1603, are in the Ambrosian.

Decurtatus, any mutilated MS., e.g. Palatinus C of Plautus or the Vaticanus G of Terence.

Delphensis (Delphi Batavorum), Delft, Holland.

Demidow Library, incorporated with the Moscow University Library. Some MSS. were burnt in 1812.

Deodat(i)ensis (Fanum Deodati), S. Dié, Fr. (Michelant*.)

Derpitanus (Derpitum, Derbatum), Dorpat, Russia.

Dertusiensis (Dertusia), Tortosa, Sp. (H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Rev. d. Bibl.* vi, pp. 1–61, 1896.)

Dervensis, Moutier-en-Der, Fr.

Dessaviensis (Dessavia), Dessau, Germ. Herzogliche Bibl.

Diezianus, the collection of G. F. von Diez, Legationsrath, purchased for the Kgl. Bibliothek, Berlin, in 1817. It contains many MSS. from the collection of the Dutch scholar Laurens van Santen (d. 1798).

Didotianus, MSS. belonging to Firmin Didot (1790–1836), French publisher. (Catalogue, 1881.)

Diessensis, Diessen, Germ. At Munich.

Dietranzell, Germ. At Munich.

Digbeianus, MSS. of Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665) given to the Bodleian at the instance of Abp. Laud. (W. D. Macray, 1883.)

Dillingensis (Dillinga), Dillingen, Germ.

Dionysiacus, S. Dionysios, Mt. Athos, Turkey.

Dionysianus, (1) S. Denis, Fr. At Paris. (2) Monastery of S. Dionysios, Mt. Athos.

Divaeus, Petrus Divaeus or Pieter van Dieven, b. Louvain, 1536, antiquary and historian of Brabant. His codex of Horace is Leidensis 127A.

Divionensis, Diviobenignanus (Divio), Dijon, Fr. (Molinier and others*.) Many MSS. come from the library of the Abbey of S. Benignus and from Cîteaux.

Dominicanus, MSS. of various Dominican monasteries, e.g. that at Würzburg, Germ. (Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius*, p. 124. MSS. at Paris, Bologna, Palermo, Leipzig), and SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice.

Dominicini, library at Perugia, It. (Blume, *Iter It.*, ii. 208.)

Donaueschingiensis, Donaueschingen, Germ. (K. A. Barack, *Die Hdschr. der Fürstenburgischen Hofbibliothek*, 1865.)

Dorvillianus, Jacques Philippe D'Orville (1690–1751), Professor of Philology at Amsterdam. His MSS. were purchased for the Bodleian in 1804. (Madan, *Summary Cat.*, iv. 37.)

Douce, collection of Francis Douce (1757–1834), antiquary, bequeathed by him to the Bodleian, Oxford. (Catalogue, 1840.)

Dousa, George (d. 1599), Dutch traveller and antiquary. MSS. at Leyden.

Dovoriensis, Dover Priory, Eng. MSS. dispersed. (M. R. James, 1903.)

Drepanensis, Trapani, Sicily. (N. Pirrone, *Studi Italiani*, 1905.)

Dresdensis (Dresda), Kgl. Bibliothek, Dresden, Germ. (F. A. Ebert,

1822; K. Falkenstein, 1839; F. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, 1882–1883.) Cf. Bunaviensis, Bruehliana, Matthaei.

Duacensis (Duacum), Douai, Fr. (Dehaisnes*; Rivière*.) MSS. from Anchin.

Dublinensis (Dublinum, Dublana), Dublin, Ireland. (T. K. Abbott, 1900.) MSS. of Abp. Ussher.

Dubrovski, Peter, a Russian attaché at Paris in 1791. He purchased MSS. from the monastic libraries which were dispersed at that time, notably those of S. Germain-des-Prés. His collection was purchased for the Imperial Library, Petersburg, in 1805. v. Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 52.

Dudithianus, Andrew Dudith (1533–1589), Bp. of Fünfkirchen or Pécs, Hungary. (C. B. Stieff, 1756: R. Förster, *N. Jahrb.* 1900, p. 74.)

Duisburgensis (Duisburgum, Duiciburgum), Duisburg, Germ. Now at Bonn. Cf. Teutoburgensis.

Dunelmensis (Dunelmum), Durham, Eng. (Cat. Veteres, *Surtees Soc.*, vol. vii: T. Rud, 1825.)

Dunensis, Dunes, Belg. At Bruges. (P. J. Laude, 1859)

Duperron, Jacques Davy, cardinal, Bp. of Évreux (1556–1618). Left his MSS. to S. Taurin d'Évreux (s. v. Eboricanus).

Duregensis (Duregum), Zürich, Switz. s. v. Turicensis.

Durlacensis (Durlacum), Durlach, Germ. Some MSS. formerly here in the library of the castle of the Margraves of Baden are now at Karlsruhe.

Durobernia, Canterbury, Eng. s.v. Cantuariensis.

E

Ebersbergensis, Ebersberg, Germ. At Munich.

Ebnerianus, MSS. (e.g. Persius, Lucan) of Erasmus Ebner, a patrician of Nuremberg, Germ., 16th cent., friend of Melanchthon.

Eboracensis (Eboracum), (1) York, Eng. (2) Ebrach, Germ. At Würzburg.

Eborensis, (1) Evora, Portugal. (2) Collegium Eborense of Franciscans at Rome (Ara Caeli). MSS. in Bibl. Nazionale, Rome.

Eboricanus (Eboricae, Ebroicum), Évreux, Fr. MSS. of S. Taurin and Cardinal Duperron (1556–1618), Bp. of Évreux.

Ebroicensis, s. v. Eboricanus.

Echternachensis, s. v. Epternachensis.

Edelbergensis, s. v. Heidelbergensis.

Edinburgensis (Edinburgum, Edinum), Edinburgh, Scotland. (1) University Library. (2) Advocates' Library, founded 1680.

Egerton, MSS. of Francis Henry Egerton, eighth Earl of Bridgewater (d. 1829), bequeathed to the British Museum. (Additional MSS., 1849.)

Egmondanus, Egmontanus, Egmundensis, Église d'Egmont, Belg. At Brussels, Leyden, &c.

Eichstätt, s.v. Aureatensis.

Einsiedlensis (Einsilda), Eremitarum coenobium in Helvetiis in Graesse, Einsiedeln, Switz. (Gabriel Meier, 1899.)

Elbingensis, Elbing, Germ.

Eliensis, Ely, Eng. The name is sometimes used for MSS. belonging to John More, Bp. of Ely, given to the University Library, Cambridge by George I in 1714.

Elnonensis, Elno or S. Amand near Valenciennes, Fr. (Catalogue of 1635 in Sanderus, *Bibl. Belgica.*) s.v. Valentianensis.

Emilianus, San Millán de la Cogolla, Burgos, Sp. s.v. Matritensis (4).

Emmeranus, Emmeramensis, S. Emmeram, Regensburg, Germ. At Munich.

Engelbergensis, s.v. Angelomontanus.

Engolismensis (Engolisma), Angoulême, Fr. Also applied to the surrounding district of the Angoumois.

Enochianus, Enoch of Ascoli, employed by Pope Nicholas V to search for classical MSS. in France and Germany.

Eparchus, Antonius Eparchus, b. *circa* 1492 in Corfu. Ruined by the Turkish invasion of 1537, he emigrated to Venice and became the head of the trade in Gk. MSS. of which Venice was the centre. (Omont gives a catalogue of his MSS. in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes,* 1892, vol. liii.) His MSS. are at Augsburg, Escurial, Vatican (Ottoboniani), Paris, Milan, Munich, and Berlin.

Epternachensis (Epternacum), Echternach, Luxembourg. MSS. at Luxembourg and at Paris. (A. Reiners, 1889.)

Eporediensis (Eporedia), Ivrea, It.

Erfurtensis (Erfurtum, Erfordia), Erfurt, Germ. The library contains the collections of Amplonius von Ratinck of Rheinberg (Berka) made *circ.* 1412. (W. Schum, 1887.) Some MSS. cited as Erfurtenses are now at Berlin.

Erlangensis (Erlanga), Erlangen, Germ. (J. K. Irmischer, 1852.)

Escorialensis, The Escurial, near Madrid, Sp. (Montfaucon; Haenel, p. 920; Pluer, *Iter per Hispaniam:* Gk. MSS., E. Miller, 1848; Ch. Graux, *Sur les origines du fonds grec,* 1880; Lat. MSS., P. G. Antolín, 1910.) Cf. Augustinus, Mendoza.

Essiensis, Jesi, It. Cf. Aesiensis.

Estensis, library of the Este family at Modena, It. Contains MSS. of G. Valla and Albertus Pius, Count of Carpi. (V. Puntoni, *Studi Italiani,* 1896, iv. 379-536; History by G. Bertoni, 1903; cf. T. W. Allen, *Class. Rev.,* 1889, p. 12.)

Etonensis (Etona), Eton, Eng. (M. R. James, 1896.)

Etruscus, often used by the older scholars for Florentinus.

Ettenheimmünster, Germ. At Karlsruhe.

Eustorgianus (Bibliotheca Divi Eustorgii), S. Eustorgio, a Dominican monastery at Milan.

Exoniensis (Exonia), (1) Exeter, Eng. (2) Exeter College, Oxford.

Extravagantes, MSS. not forming part of independent collections at Wolfenbüttel. s. v. Guelferbytanus.

F

Fabariensis, s. v. Fav-.

Fabricianus, (1) Fr. Fabricius Marcoduranus, i.e. Franz Schmidt of Düren, Germ. (1525-1573), Latin scholar, pupil of Turnebus. (2) s. v. Hauniensis.

Fabroniana, s. v. Pistoriensis.

Faeschianus, Remi Faesch (1595-1667), jurist and bibliophile. The MSS. belonging to the museum he founded are now in the University Library, Basel.

Falcoburgianus, Gerard Falckenburg of Nijmegen, Holland (1535-1578), editor of Nonnus. Some MSS. at Breslau, Stadt-Bibl.

Farfensis, monastery of Farfa near Rome. MSS. in the Vittorio Emanuele and Barberiniana, Rome ; at Naples, and at Eton College.

Farnesi(a)nus, s. v. Neapolitanus (1).

Favariensis (Favaria, Fabaria), Pfäffers near Chur, Switz.

Feldbachensis, Feldbach, Switz. Library of the Jesuits.

Fernandina, another title of the Colombina Library at Seville, Sp.

Ferrarensis, Ferrara, It.

Ferrariensis (Ferrariae), Ferrières, Fr. In the Vatican and at Berne, Switz.

Fesulanus (Fesulae), S. Bartholomew, Fiesole, It. MSS. in the Laurentian, Florence.

Feuillants, Monastère des, Paris. s. v. Fulienses.

Filelfo, F., s. v. Philelphus.

Firmitas, La Ferté-sur-Grosne, Fr. MSS. at Châlon-sur-Saône.

Fiscannensis (Fiscannum, Fiscamnum), Fécamp, Fr. At Rouen and among the Bigotiani at Paris.

Flacius Illyricus, Matthias (1520-1575), a Lutheran theologian. MSS. at Wolfenbüttel (Guelferbytani).

Flaviniacensis (Flaviniacum, Flaviacum), Flavigny, Fr. At Nancy.

Florentinus (Florentia), Florence, It.

Aedilium Florentinae ecclesiae, library founded by the Florentine Republic *circ.* 1448 in the precincts of the Cathedral. The church S. Petri in Caelo Aureo was used for the purpose by the permission of Pope Nicholas V. MSS. now in Laurentian.

Abbatiae de Florentia, s. v.

Laurentianus Conv. soppr. MSS. from suppressed monasteries; in the Laurentian Library since 1808.

Leopoldina. The title given to the various collections added to the Laurentian by Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1765) (afterwards Emperor of Austria). s. v. Mediceo-Laur.

Libri, MSS. sold by Libri (q.v.) to Lord Ashburnham. Repurchased for the Laurentian in 1884.

Magliabecchiana, library founded by Antonio Magliabecchi (1613–1714), librarian to the Duke of Florence. Now in the Bibl. Naz. Centrale. (G. Vitelli; Lat. MSS., A. Galante in *Studi Ital. di filolog.* 1902, p. 326.)

Marucelliana, library bequeathed by Francesco Marucelli, of Florence, on his death in 1703. Opened to the public in 1752. (G. Vitelli.)

Mediceo-Laurentiana, library founded by Cosimo in 1444. The fall of the Medici family led to the dispersal of this library. Part was purchased by the monks of San Marco, who in 1508 presented these MSS. to Cardinal de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X, who added them to the library in the Villa Medici at Rome. On his death they were returned to Florence and placed in the library of San Lorenzo, built by Michelangelo in 1571, where they still remain. (Bandini, 1764-1778; E. Rostagno and N. Festa, 1893. Supplementary Ind. of Gk. MSS., Rostagno, *Stud. It.*, 1898.) In it are included the following collections, many of which were added in 1765 by Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany: San Marco (v. *infra*), Gaddiana, Strozziana, Fesulana, Aedilium Florentinae Ecclesiae, Sanctae Crucis.

S. Marci, MSS. belonging to the church of S. Marco, founded by Cosimo I, now in the Laurentian (1884) and in the Nazionale.

Nazionale Centrale (1861), contains Magliabecchiana, Palatina, and other collections.

Palatina, the private library of the Dukes of Tuscany, formerly in the Pitti Palace. Now in the Nazionale.

Riccardiana, library formed by Riccardo Romolo Riccardi *circ.* 1590 and purchased from his descendants in 1815. (Lami, 1756; S. Morpurgo, 1900. Gk. MSS. by G. Vitelli in *Studi It. di filologia class.*, ii. 471, 1894.)

Sanctae Crucis, monastery of Santa Croce. MSS. in the Leopold collection in the Laurentian since 1766.

Floriacensis (Floriacum ad Ligerim), Fleury-sur-Loire, Fr. Many MSS. belonging to this monastery (which was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562) came into the possession of Pierre Daniel (1530-1603), whose collection was purchased by Jacques Bongars (1554–1614) and his cousin Paul Petau (1568–1614), both

natives of Orléans (s.vv. Bongarsianus, Petavianus). The few MSS. which were preserved at the monastery are now at Orléans. (Ch. Cuissard, 1885.) For MSS. at Paris v. Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 364.

Florianensis, the Chorherrenstift at S. Florian, Austr. (A. Czerny, Linz, 1871.)

Florio, bibliot., s.v. Utinensis.

Fons Avellana, Fonte Avellana, It.

Fontanellensis, Fontanelle or S. Wandrille, Fr. At Rouen.

Fontebla(n)densis, Bibl. Royale au Château de Fontainebleau. Founded by Francis I, who transferred to it MSS. from Blois. Now part of the Bibl. Nat. Paris. (H. Omont, 1889.) Cf. Bliaudifontanus.

Forojuliensis (Forum Iulii), Friuli, It. Library of Sandaniele. (A. Zorzi, 1899; Mazzatinti.)

Fossa Nuova, Piperno, It. In the Phillipps collection.

Fossatensis, S. Maur-des-Fossés, Fr. At Paris among the Sangermanenses.

Forteguerrianus, s.v. Pistoriensis.

Foucaultianus, Nicholas Joseph Foucault (b. Paris, 1643, d. 1721), conseiller d'état and antiquary. MSS. at Leipzig, Paris, Leyden, Glasgow. Some few were bought by Rawlinson and were left by him to the Bodleian. (F. Baudry, *Mémoire de N. J. F.* in *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*, 1862.)

Foucquet, Nicolas, s. vv. Montchal, Fraxineus.

Francianus, Petrus Francius (1645–1704), of Amsterdam, poet and orator. MSS. belonging to him were used by Graevius and other scholars.

Francofurtanus (Francofurtum), (1) Frankfurt am Main (ad Moenum), Germ. Stadt-Bibl. (J. H. Mai, *Bibl. Uffenbachiana*, 1720; E. Kelchner 1860.) (2) Frankfurt an der Oder (ad Viadrum), Germ. Kgl. Friedrichs-Gymnasium (R. Schwarze, 1877).

Franequeranus (Franequera, Franechera), Franeker, Holland. MSS. at Leeuwarden.

Franzoniana, library at Genoa, It.

Fraxineus, Raphaël Trichet du Fresne (1611–1661), an authority on literary history and antiquities. His MSS. were purchased by Foucquet. Many of his Gk. MSS. came from the collection of Vincentius Grimani of Venice. In Bibl. Nat. Paris. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 269; Omont, *Inv. d. mss. gr.* iv, p. xcii.)

Freherianus, Marquard Freher of Augsburg, Germ. (1565–1614), jurist and antiquary. MSS. dispersed; some are among the Scaligerani at Leyden.

Freiburgensis (Freiburgum, Friburgum), (1) Freiburg im Breisgau

(Brisgoiae), Germ. (2) Freiburg im Üchtland (Nuithonum), Switz. (Catalogue, 1852-1886.)

Freierianus, a fragment of Cic. *ad Familiares* ii. 1, belonging to Dr. Freier of the Frankfort Gymnasium. (*Philologus*, 1867, p. 701.)

Fresne, du Fresne, s.v. Fraxineus.

Fridericianus, the library of the Kgl. Friedrichs-Gymnasium at Breslau. (Catalogue included in the Gk. catalogue of the Stadt-Bibliothek (Bibliotheca urbica) of Breslau, 1889.)

Frisingensis (Frisinga, Fruxinia), Freising, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Fugger(i)anus, (1) MSS. of Ulrich Fugger, of Augsburg (1528-1584), Freiherr von Kirchberg. They were incorporated with the Bibl. Palatina at Heidelberg and were transferred with it to the Vatican in 1622. (2) MSS. of Hans Jacob Fugger (1516-1575). Now at Munich. (3) MSS. of Raymund Fugger added to the Hofbibliothek, Vienna, in 1656.

Fulcardi Mons, Foucarmont, Fr. At Paris among the Colbertini.

Fuldenses (Fulda, Fuldaha), Fulda, Germ. Landesbibliothek. (Kindlinger, 1812; A. v. Keitz, 1890.) Sometimes called Bonifatiani after S. Boniface, the founder of the monastery at Fulda. The oldest MSS. are now at Kassel. (F. Falk, Leipzig, 1902.)

Fulienses, the Feuillants, a Cistercian order founded at Languedoc, Fr., *circ.* 1580. A few MSS. from their Paris house are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 251.)

Furstenbergicus, -bergensis, (1) s.v. Donaueschingensis. (2) s.v. Monasteriensis. (3) MSS. of Ferdinand v. Fürstenberg (1626-1683), Bp. of Paderborn, Germ. Cf. Rottendorphianus. (4) Private library of Prince Fürstenberg, Pürglitz, Bohemia.

Furstenfeldensis, Fürstenfeld, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Fuxensis, Collége de Foix, Toulouse, Fr. At Paris among the Colbertini; among them are remains of the papal library at Avignon and Peñiscola. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 498.)

G

Gaddianus, MSS. belonging to Francesco di Angelo Gaddi (fl. *circ.* 1496) and of other members of his family. Most MSS. in the Laurentian at Florence since 1755; a few in Bibl. Nazionale (Magliabecchiana).

Gaertnerianus, C. G. Gaertner of Leipzig, owner of MSS. of Livy *circ.* 1750.

Gaibacensis, s.v. Pommersfelden.

Gaignières, Roger de, of Paris (d. 1715). Left Gk. MSS. to the Royal Library in 1715.

Galeanus, Thomas Gale (1635–1702), high master of S. Paul's School, London, and Dean of York. His MSS. were bequeathed by his son Roger to Trin. Coll., Camb.

Gambalungiana, library at Rimini, It. Founded *circ.* 1617 by bequest of Alessandro Gambalunga, jurist.

Gandavensis (Gandavum, Ganda), Ghent, Belg. (J. de Saint-Genois, 1849–1852.)

Garampi, Giuseppe, cardinal, collector. (Catalogue, Rome, 1798.) Some MSS. at Rimini in the Gambalungiana, others in the Vatican. (Blume, *Iter Ital.*, ii. 234.)

Gatianus, S. Gatien, Tours, Fr. s. v. Turonensis.

Gaulminus, Gilbert Gaulmyn, b. 1585, doyen des maitres des requêtes; man of learning and collector. Part of his library was bought by Queen Christina (s. v. Reginensis), but most has passed to the Bibl. Nat. through various collections (e. g. Telleriana). He died in 1665.

Gedanensis (Gedanum), Danzig, Germ. Cf. Dantiscanus.

Gemblacensis (Gemblacum), Gembloux, Belg. At Brussels.

Gem(m)eticensis (Gemmeticum, Gemmenticum), Jumièges, Fr. At Rouen.

Genevensis, Geneva, Switz. (J. Senebier, 1779.) Most of the Gk. MSS. were given in 1742 by Ami Lullin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who had purchased them from the collection of the Petaus (s. v. Petavianus).

Genuensis (Genua, Janua), Genoa, It. (1) University Library. (E. Martini, Gk. MSS. 1896.) (2) Bibl. Carolina (s. v.).

Gerolamini, s. v. Gir-.

Geronensis, Gerona, Sp.

Gersdorfianus, library of Joachim Gersdorff, 1611–1661. In Royal Libr., Copenhagen.

Gesner, Conrad (1516–1565), of Zürich, scholar and physician. MSS. at Zürich.

Gianfilippi. For this Veronese collection v. Blume, *Iter Ital.*, i. 265–6, also s. v. Saibantinus.

Gi(e)ssensis (Giessa), Giessen, Germ. Univ.-Bibl. with which the von Senckenberg'sche Bibl. has been united since 1835. (J. V. Adrian, 1840; F. W. Otto, 1842.)

Gifanius, Hubert van Giffen (1435–1604) of Buren, Holland, jurist and scholar.

Gigas, a codex of the N. T. at Stockholm, so called from its size.

Girolamini, Bibl. dei, Naples, It. s. v. Neapolitanus.

Gislenianus, S. Ghislain, Belg. Some MSS. from here are in Phillipps collection.

Gissensis, s. v. Giessensis.

Glareanus, Glarus, Switz.

Glasguensis (Glasgua), Glasgow, Scotland. Cf. Huntcrianus.

Glastoniensis (Glastonia, Glasconia), Glastonbury, Eng.

Glogav(i)ensis (Glogovia), Glogau, Germ. MSS. at Breslau.

Glunicensis, Gleink, Austr. At Linz.

Goerresianus, MSS. mostly of mediaeval writers, belonging to Johannes Joseph von Görres, 1776–1848. Many came from S. Maximin at Trier. (Traube, *N. Archiv f. ält. deutsche Gesch.-Kunde*, vol. xxvii, p. 737.) At Koblenz and Berlin.

Goldastianus, Melchior Goldast von Heimingsfeld (1576–1635), Swiss Protestant jurist; bequeathed part of his library to Bremen, Germ. Part was purchased by Queen Christina of Sweden and is now in the Vatican.

Gorlicensis (Gorlicium), Görlitz, Germ. (R. Joachim, *Gesch. d. Milich'schen Bibliothek*, 1876.)

Goslarianus, Goslar, Germ. MSS. from the monastery on the Georgenberg, which was destroyed in 1527. Now at Wolfenbüttel (s. v. Guelferbytanus).

Gothanus (Gotha, Gota), Gotha, Germ. Libr. founded by Herzog Ernst der Fromme, 1640–1675. (E. S. Cyprianus, 1714.)

Gotingensis (Gotinga), Göttingen, Germ. (W. Meyer, *Verzeichnis der Handschr. im Preussischen Staate*, 1893; K. Dziatzko, 1900.)

Gottorpianus (Gottorpia), Gottorp, Schleswig-Holstein, Germ. MSS., including those from Bordesholm, are now at Copenhagen (Steffenhagen and Wetzel, Kiel, 1881), Wolfenbüttel, Leyden, Hamburg.

Gotwicensis, Göttweig or Göttweih, on the Danube, Austr.

Graeciensis (Graecium), Graz, Austr. (J. v. Zahn, 1864.)

Graevianus, Jan Georg Graefe or Graevius (1632–1703), Professor of History at Utrecht and Historiographer to William III of England. Part of his collection is in the British Museum (Harleian), part at Heidelberg. (Cf. A. C. Clark, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, 1891, p. 238.)

Granvella, Antoine Perrenot, Cardinal Granvella (1517–1586), Bp. of Arras, Abp. of Besançon, minister to Philip II of Spain. MSS. at Leyden, Amsterdam, Vatican, Besançon.

Gratianopolitanus (Gratianopolis, Grannopolis), Grenoble, Fr. (Fournier and others *.)

Gravisset, s. v. Bongarsianus.

Greshamense Collegium, London, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham (? 1519–1579), a London merchant.

Grimani, a Venetian family (e. g. Cardinal Domenico G., d. 1523). MSS. at Venice, Udine, Paris, Holkham: Vincentius Grimani cf. Fraxineus.

Gripheswaldensis (Gripeswalda, Gryphiswalda), Greifswald, Germ.

Groninganus (Groninga), Groningen, Holland. (H. Brugmans, 1898, cf. *Zentralbl. f. Bibl.*, 1898, vol. iv, p. 562.)

Gronovianus, MSS. of Johann Friedrich (1611–1671) and his son Jakob Gronov (1645–1716), scholars. MSS. at Leyden since 1785.

Grotta Ferrata, s. v. Cryptoferratensis.

Gruterus, Ianus (1560–1627), librarian at Heidelberg, 1605. MSS. at Rome and Munich since the sack of Heidelberg in 1622 (*Serapeum*, xv. 100, xviii. 209).

Guarinus, Guarino of Verona (1370–1460), Italian scholar. MSS. at Ferrara, Paris, Rome, Vienna, Erlangen.

Guarnacciana, s. v. Volaterranus.

Gudianus, Marquard Gude (1635–1689) of Rendsburg, Schleswig-Holstein, a Danish collector. His MSS. were sold by auction in 1706 (Auction Catalogue, Hamburg, 1706), and some MSS. were acquired for Wolfenbüttel in 1710. (O. von Heinemann, 1886.) Cf. Tiliobrogianus, Salmasianus, Rottendorphianus, Bordesholm.

Guelferbytanus (Guelferbytum), Wolfenbüttel, Germ. Bibl. Augustana or Augustea, founded by Herzog August der Jüngere of Brunswick, d. 1666. It contains, besides the collection of its founder, the Blankenburgenses, Gudiani, Helmstadienses, Weissenburgenses. (v. Heinemann, 1898.)

Guyetus, Fr. Guyet (1575–1655), French scholar. MSS. at Paris.

Guzman, s. v. Salmanticensis.

Gyraldensis, Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus (Giglio Gregorio Giraldi) (1479–1552), of Ferrara; protonotary Apostolic.

H

Haenelianus, Gustav Friedrich Haenel (1792–1878), travelled over the greater part of Europe examining MSS. in libraries. Many MSS. acquired by him on his travels are now in the University Library, Leipzig, and at the Escurial.

Haffligensis, s. v. Affligeniensis.

Hafniensis, s. v. Hauniensis.

Hagensis (Haga Comitum), The Hague, Holland.

Hagia Laura, monastery on Mt. Athos, Turkey.

Halberstadiensis, Halberstadt, Germ. Cf. Halensis.

Halensis (Hala Saxonum), Halle, Germ. MSS. from Bergs, Magdeburg, Halberstadt.

Hamburgensis (Hamburgum), Hamburg, Germ. Stadtbibliothek (Johanneum). MSS. of Lindenbrog, Holstenius, J. C. Wolf, and Uffenbach. (H. Omont, *Zentralblatt f. Bibl.*, 1890, vol. vii, p. 351.)

Hamiltonensis, the collection of the twelfth Duke of Hamilton purchased for the Berlin Library in 1882. (Wattenbach, *Neues Archiv*, viii. 327.)

Hannoveranus (Hanovera), Hannover, Germ. (1) Stadtbibl. f. 1440. (Grotefend, 1844.) (2) Kgl. öff. Bibl. (Bodemann, 1867.)

Harlay, Achille de (1689-1707), Président du Parlement de Paris. His collection passed from De Chauvelin in 1755 to the library of S. Germain (q. v., also Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 102). Cf. s. v. S. Germani.

Harleianus, the collection begun by Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford and Mortimer (1661–1724). Now in the British Museum. (Nares, 1808.)

Harrisianus, A. C. Harris, the discoverer of the papyrus of Hyperides in 1847. Purchased by the Brit. Mus. in 1872.

Hase, Charles Benoît, Greek scholar, employed in Paris Library, 1805. Some of his MSS. were purchased for the Paris Library on his death in 1864.

Hauniensis (Haunia, Hafnia), Copenhagen, Denmark. (1) Royal Library. MSS. of Askew, Lindenbrog, Rostgaard, Thott, and MSS. from Gottorp. (J. Eyríksson, 1786; C. G. Hensler, Gk. MSS. 1784; *Notice sommaire des mss. grecs par Ch. Graux*, 1879.) (2) University Library. (S. B. Smith, 1882.) Contains the collection of J. A. Fabricius, added in 1770.

Havercampianus, Sigbert Havercamp (1684–1742), Professor at Leyden, Holl.

Heidelbergensis (Heidelberga), Heidelberg, Germ. Cf. Palatinus.

Heiligenkreuz, v. S. Crucis.

Heilsbronnensis, Heilsbronn, Germ. (Hocker, 1731.) MSS. at Stuttgart, Erlangen.

Heinsianus, MSS. of Daniel Heinsius (1580–1665), Professor at Leyden, and of his son Nicholas (1620–1681). Many are in the Bernard (s. v.) collection in the Bodleian, some at Leyden; some belonging to Nicholas are among the Reginenses in Vatican.

Helenopolis, Frankfurt am Main, Germ. s. v. Francofurtanus.

Helleriana bibliotheca, collection of Joseph Heller (1798–1849) at Bamberg. (F. Leitschuh, 1887.)

Helmstadiensis (Helmstadium), the library founded at Helmstedt, Germ., by Herzog Friedrich Ulrich in 1614. On the suppression of the University in 1810 the library was dispersed between Marburg, Brunswick, Göttingen. The MSS. sent to Göttingen were transferred *circ.* 1822-1832 to Wolfenbüttel, from whence they had been brought in 1614.

Hemsterhusius, MSS. of Tiberius Hemsterhuys (1686-1766). At Leyden since 1790.

Henochianus, s. v. Enoch.

Herbipolitanus (Herbipolis, Wirceburgum), Würzburg, Germ. (Catalogue, 1886; History by O. Handwerker, 1904.) Some MSS. at Munich. Some from S. Kilian's now in Bodleian (Laudiani).

Hermannstadt, s. v. Cibinensis.

Hierosolymitanus (Hierosolyma), Jerusalem, Pal. (1) The Patriarch's Library. (A. Papadopoulos Kerameus, 1891–1899; K. M. Koikulides, 1889.) (2) MSS. from the Bibliotheca S. Crucis at Jerusalem, now in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. (3) Library of Mar Saba, now united with (4) Library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre. (Rendel Harris, 1889.)

Hildeshemensis (Hildeshemium, Ascalingium), Hildesheim, Germ. Cathedral or Beverina Library founded 1681 by Martin Bever (1625–1681). Some MSS. from here at Wolfenbüttel. (C. Ernst, 1909.)

Hilleriana bibliotheca, s. v. Helleriana.

Hirschaugiensis (Hirschaugia, Hirschavia), Hirschau, Germ.

Hispalensis, Seville, Sp. s. v. Columbina.

Hittorpianus, MSS. (mostly in the Cathedral Library, Cologne) used or owned by Melchior Hittorp (1525–1584), theologian, Dean of the collegiate church of S. Cunibert, Cologne.

Hoeschelianus, David Hoeschel (1556–1617), librarian at Augsburg. Some of his MSS. are among the Augustani at Munich. One (Royal 16 D. X) is in the Brit. Mus.

Hohenfurtensis, Hohenfurth, Bohemia.

Holkhamicus, the collection made by the first Earl of Leicester (Thomas Coke, Baron Lovel, 1752–1842), now at Holkham, Eng. (R. Förster, *Philologus*, xlii. 158 (1883); Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, ii. 154–7.) Cf. S. Iohannis in Viridario.

Holmiensis (Holmia), Stockholm, Sweden. (G. P. Lilieblad and J. G. Sparvenfeld, 1706.)

Holstenianus, s. v. Barberinus. Cf. Angelicanus.

Hubertianus, S. Hubert in the Ardennes, Belg.

Huetianus, Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721), Bp. of Avranches. His MSS. presented to Bibl. Royale, Paris, in 1763.

Hugenianus, collection of Constantin Huygens (1596–1687) of Zuylichem, Holl., Dutch noble, statesman, and poet. Dispersed; some MSS. now at Leyden, Holl.

Hulpheriana, collection at Västerås, Sweden. In the Läroverksbibliotek. Cf. Arosiensis.

Hulsianus, MSS. of Samuel van Hulst, an advocate at the Hague. (Catalogue, *Bibliotheca Hulsiana*, Hagae Comitum, 1730.)

Hummelianus, Bernhard Friedrich Hummel (1725–1791), the possessor of a MS. of the *Germania* of Tacitus, since lost.

Hunterianus, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Scot., founded by bequest of Dr. William Hunter (1718–1783) in 1807. (P. H. Aitken, 1908.)

Hurault, s. v. Boistallerianus.

Hydruntinus (Hydruntum), Otranto, It. There was a collection of MSS. in the Greek monastery of S. Nicola di Casole close to

Otranto, from which Bessarion obtained many of his MSS. (e.g. that of Q. Smyrnaeus). It was destroyed by the Turks in 1480. (Cf. Antonius de Ferrariis Galateus, *De situ Iapygiae*, Lycii (Lecce), 1727, pp. 48-9; H. Omont, *Rev. des Études grecques* (1890). iii. 381-91.)

I

Ianiniana, libr. of church of S. Benignus, Dijon, Fr. (*Cat. Gén. des MSS. des Bibl. Publ. de France*, vol. v, p. 453.)

Indersdorfensis, Indersdorf, Germ. At Munich.

Ingolstadiensis (Ingolstadium), Ingolstadt, Germ. At Munich.

Insula Barbara, Monastery of S. Benedict on the Île Barbe in the river Saône near Lyon, Fr., plundered in 1562, destroyed in 1793.

Insulensis, Lille, Fr. (Rigaux Desplanque*.)

Intrensis, Intra, It.

Ioannensis, (1) S. John Baptist College, Oxford (H. O. Coxe). (2) S. John's College, Cambridge (B. M. Cowie).

Ivreensis, Ivrea, It. (Catalogued in Mazzatinti.)

J

Jenensis, Jena, Germ. University Library. MSS. of J. A. Bosius. (J. C. Mylius, 1746.)

Jeremutensis, Yarmouth, Eng.

Justinianus, MSS. belonging to the Giustiniani, a Venetian family. A few in the Marciana, but most in private hands, e. g. Holkham.

Justinopolitanus (Justinopolis), Convent of S. Ann, Capo d'Istria, Dalmatia.

K

Kaisheimensis, Kaisheim, Germ. At Munich.

Karlsburg, s. v. Weissenburg.

Kasan, Russia. University Library. (Artemjev, 1882.)

Kemény, Graf Joseph von, historian (1806–1855), founder of the library at Hermannstadt, Hungary. s. v. Cibinensis.

Kenanensis, Kells, Ireland.

Kielensis (Kilia), Kiel, Germ. (H. Ratjen, *Serapeum*, xxxi, p. 273.)

Kiew, Russia. s. v. Chiovensis.

Klosterneuburg, s. v. Niwenburgensis.

L

Labronicus (Labronis portus), Leghorn, It. Bibl. Comunale Labronica.

Ladenburgensis, Ladenburg, Germ. Johann Dalberg, Bp. of Worms, d. 1503, had a library here which was subsequently incorporated with the Palatine at Heidelberg (s. v. Palatinus).

Lagomarsinianus, Girolamo Lagomarsini (1698–1773), a Jesuit, Pro-

fessor of Rhetoric at Florence and subsequently at Rome. He collated many MSS. of Cicero.

Lambecius, Petrus (1628-1680), of Hamburg, librarian at Vienna. His MSS. were purchased for the Hofbibliothek after his death.

Lambethanus, the library of the Abp. of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace, London. (Todd, 1812.)

Lammens, a private library at Ghent, Belg., now at Brussels.

Landianus, MSS. in the Passerini-Landi Library, founded by Pier Francesco Passerini, d. 1695, at Piacenza, It.

Lascaris, (1) Constantine Lascăris (1434-1501) of Constantinople, taught Greek at Milan 1460-1465, and later at Messina, to which town he left his MSS. They were removed to Palermo in 1679 and later to Spain. In 1712 they were placed in the newly founded National Library in Madrid. (2) Janus Lascaris (1445-1535), Greek refugee patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici. While in France he assisted G. Budé in founding the library at Fontainebleau for Francis I. On his return to Italy he aided Cardinal Ridolfi (q. v.) in forming his library. On an autograph list of his MSS. in the Vatican v. K. K. Müller, *Zentralbl. f. Bibliothekswesen*, 1884, i. 333.

Lassbergensis, Landsberg, Bavaria, Germ. At Freiburg i. B.

Latiniacensis (Latiniacum), the Abbey of S. Furcy, Lagny-sur-Marne, Fr.

Laubacensis, s. v. Lobiensis.

Laudensis (Laus Pompeia), Lodi, It. At Piacenza.

Laudianus, MSS. of William Laud (1573-1645), Abp. of Canterbury. In the Bodleian (H. O. Coxe, 1858; Index, 1885) and in S. John's College, Oxford (H. O. Coxe, 1852).

Laudunensis (Laudunum, Lugdunum Clavatum), Laon, Fr. (F. Ravaisson*.)

Laureacensis, (1) Lorsch, Monastery of S. Nazarius, Germ. MSS. now at Heidelberg (since 1555), the Vatican (s. v. Palatinus), Vienna, and Montpellier. (History by F. Falk, 1902.) (2) Lorch, near Passau, Germ.

Laurensis, The Laura on Mt. Athos, Turkey.

Laurentianus, (1) s. v. Florentinus. (2) Collegium Laurentianum at Cologne.

Laurishamensis, v. Laureacensis (1).

Lausannensis (Lausanna), Lausanne, Switz. MSS. at Berne.

Lavantinus, s. v. S. Pauli in Carinthia.

Le Caron, private library at Troussures, Fr., contains MSS. from Luxeuil.

Leghorn, s. v. Labronicus.

Legionensis (Legio septima gemina), León, Sp. Cathedral Library. (Beer and E. Diaz Jimenez.)

Leidensis, Lugdunensis (Lugdunum Batavorum), Leyden, Holland. Contains Belvacenses, and MSS. of Chifflet, Gronovius, Heinsius, Lipsius, Perizonius, Scaliger, I. Voss, Vulcanius. (Senguerdius, Gronovius and Heyman, 1716; Geel, 1852; Catalogue of Vulcanici and Scaligerani, 1910.)

Lemberg, s. v. Leopoliensis.

Lemovicensis (Lemovicum), Limoges, Fr. (Guibert.*) Cf. S. Martialis.

Lentianus (Lentia), Linz, Austria.

Leodi(c)ensis (Leodicum, Leodium), Liège or Lüttich, Belg. (M. Grandjean, 1877: *Wittert collection*, J. Brassine, 1910.)

Leopoldi(a)na, s. v. Florentinus.

Leopoliensis (Leopolis, Leoberga), Bibl. Ossoliniana, Lemberg, Austr. (W. Ketrzinski, 1881.)

Leovardiensis (Leovardia), Leeuwarden, Holland. Provincial Library of Friesland containing MSS. of the Jesuit College of Clermont, Fr. (Eekhoff, 1871–1897.)

Lesdiguières, Alphonse de Créquy, Comte de Canaples and in 1703 Duc de L. He died in 1711 and his library was dispersed in 1716, part being purchased by the Benedictines of Marmoutiers.

Libri, Guillaume Brutus Icilius Timoléon Libri Carucci della Sommaia (1803–1869) fled to France in 1830, and in 1841 was made secretary to a Commission appointed to prepare a catalogue of the MSS. in public libraries. He profited by the negligence of many of the provincial librarians, and stole large numbers of MSS. from Dijon, Lyon, Grenoble, Carpentras, Montpellier, Poitiers, Tours, Orléans, and other towns. By 1845 he had acquired a collection of 2000 MSS. After an unsuccessful attempt to sell them to the British Museum and the University of Turin, he found a purchaser in the Earl of Ashburnham, who paid £8000 for the collection in 1847. Suspicion fell upon Libri soon afterwards and he fled to England in 1848. In 1850 he was condemned in absence to ten years' imprisonment. He maintained his innocence and succeeded in securing the interest of some prominent men, such as Guizot, but failed in the attempt to get the verdict against him reversed. On the death of Lord Ashburnham in 1878 negotiations were begun by France and Italy for the recovery of such part of the Libri collections as had been stolen from their Public Libraries. These negotiations in the end proved successful. In 1884 Italy purchased a portion of the MSS. (now in the Laurentian), while France secured the remainder in 1888. (*Philologus*, 1886, vol. xlv, p. 201.)

Lichfeldensis, Lichfield, Eng.

Lignitiensis (Lignitium), Liegnitz, Germ. Library of SS. Peter and Paul. (W. Gemoll, 1900.)

Liliocampensis, s. v. Campililiensis.

Lincolniensis, MSS. of Lincoln College, Oxford; now deposited in the Bodleian, also called Lindunensis.

Lincopiensis (Lincopia), Linköping, Sweden. (Cf. R. Förster, *De Libanii libris MSS.* Rostock, 1877.) MSS. of Benzelius.

Lindenbrogius, s. v. Tiliobrogianus.

Lindesianus, Lord Crawford's Library at Haigh Hall. MSS. in Rylands' Library, Manchester, since 1901.

Lindunensis, s. v. Lincolniensis.

Lingonensis (urbs Lingonum), Langres, Fr.

Lipsiensis (Lipsia), Leipzig, Germ. (1) University Library or Albertina (formerly Bibl. Paulina). (L. J. Feller, 1686; Gk. MSS., Gardthausen; Lat. MSS., R. Helsigg, 1905.) MSS. from Pegau, Lauterberg, Chemnitz, Pirna, were transferred here *circ.* 1540. The library contains the MSS. collected by Haenel (s. v.). (2) Stadtbibl. or Bibl. Senatoria (A. G. R. Naumann, 1838), containing MSS. of Matthias Corvinus.

Lipsius, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Some of his MSS. are at Leyden (Gk. MSS., V. Gardthausen), others were sold as late as 1722.

Lirensis, s. v. Lyrensis.

Lisbonensis, s. v. Olisiponensis.

Livineius, Jan Lievens (1546–1599), scholar, Canon at Antwerp (cf. Bruxellensis).

Lobcoviciensis, Library (Fideikommissbibliothek) of Fürst Moritz von Lobkowitz at Raudnitz, Bohemia, founded by Bohuslav von Lobkowitz, *circ.* 1491, at Hassenstein. (E. Gollob, *Verzeichnis d. gr. Hss. in Österreich*, 1903, p. 134.)

Lobiensis, Lobbes, Belg. At Brussels. (Omont, *Rev. des Bibl.* 1891, vol. i, p. 3.)

Loisellus, s. v. Avicula.

Lolliniana, library at Belluno, It.

Londin(i)ensis (Londinum).

(1) **British Museum**, containing the following collections: Arundel, Burney, Cotton, Egerton, Harleian, Old Royal (Casley, 1734), New Royal, Sloane. Other MSS. are catalogued as 'Additional MSS. *Papyri*, J. Forshall, Pt. i. 1839; F. G. Kenyon, 1893– . *Cat. of Anc. MSS.*, 2 vols. (with facsimiles), 1881–4; H. Omont, *Notes sur les MSS. grecs du B.M.* in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xlv, 1884.

(2) **Londinum Gothorum**, Lund, Swed.

Longolianus, Christophe de Longueil (1488–1522), Ciceronian scholar, friend of Cardinal Pole.

Lorrianus, Lorry, a physician at Paris *circ.* 1810, owned a MS. of Nicander which has since disappeared.

Lovaniensis (Lovanium), Louvain, Belg. Cf. Parcensis.

Lovel(i)anus, MSS. acquired by Sir Thomas Coke of Holkham, afterwards Baron Lovel, d. 1759. Cf. Holkhamicus.

Lubecensis, Lübeck, Germ. (J. H. v. Melle, 1807; Omont, *Zentralbl.* 1890.)

Lucchesiana, library at Girgenti, Sicily.

Lucensis (Luca), Lucca, It. (1) Biblioteca Pubblica. (2) Bibl. Palatina, containing codd. of Lucchesini and S. Maria di Corte Landini (in curtis Orlandigorum or Orlandigerorum). Partly transferred to Bibl. Nazionale at Parma in 1847. (A. Mancini, Florence, 1902.) Libr. of Canons of S. Martin is catalogued in Blume, *Bibl.*, p. 53.

Lucernensis, Lucerne, Switz. (Keller, 1840–1866.)

Lugdunensis, (1) Leyden, Holland (s. v. Leidensis). (2) Lyon, Fr. (L. Niepce, 1876.)

Lullin, s. v. Genevensis.

Lunaeburgensis, monastery of S. Michael, Lüneburg, Germ. At Göttingen. (A. Martin, 1827.)

Lunaelacensis, Mondsee, Austr. At Vienna.

Lupara, the Louvre Museum, Paris. (Egyptian papyri.)

Lusaticus (Lusatia), Lausitz, Germ. The term is loosely applied to MSS. from Görlitz, Zittau, and other towns in this district.

Luxemburgensis, Bibl. de l'Athénée de Luxembourg. A. Namur, 1855.

Luxoviensis (Luxovium), Luxeuil, Fr. Cf. Beauvais, Le Caron.

Lyrensis or Lyranus, Lyre, Fr. At Évreux.

M

Madritensis, s. v. Matrit-.

Maffei, Scipio (1675–1755), Veronese scholar and antiquary. MSS. in Capitular Library, Verona.

Magdalenaeus, library of S. Maria Magdalena at Breslau founded in 1601, incorporated with the Stadtbibliothek in 1865 (s. v. Vratislaviensis).

Magdeburgensis, Magdeburg, Germ. Cf. Halensis.

Magliabecchianus, Antonio Magliabecchi (1633–1714), librarian at Florence. His collection is now in the Bibl. Nazionale there (s. v. Florentinus).

Maguntinus, s. v. Mog-.

Maihingensis, Maihingen, Germ. (Grupp, 1897.) Cf. Wallersteinensis.

Majus Monasterium, Benedictine monastery at Marmoutiers, Fr. At Tours.

Malatestianus, library at Cesena, It., founded by Domenico Malatesta Novello in 1452, united since 1797 with the Bibl. Comunale. (J. M. Muccioli, 1780–1784; R. Zazzeri, 1887.)

Malleacensis, Maillezais, Fr.

Mallersdorfiensis, Mallersdorf, Bavaria. At Munich.

Malvito, a monastery near Cosenza in Calabria, It.

Mancuniensis (Mancunium), Manchester, Eng. John Rylands Library, founded in 1900 by Mrs. Rylands in memory of her husband, a cotton merchant of Wigan (1801–1888). It includes the famous Althorp (q. v.) library, purchased by her from Earl Spencer in 1892. Cf. Lindesianus.

Manetti, Giannozzo, Italian scholar and collector (1396–1497). Some of his MSS. are in the Laurentian.

Mannheimensis, Mannheim, Germ. At Munich.

Mantuanus, Mantova, It. Bibl. Gonzaga, cf. Padolironensis. (E. Martini, Gk. MSS. 1896.) The old library of the Gonzagas was plundered in 1630. Many MSS. came into the possession of Cardinal Richelieu. After the death of Duke Ferdinando Carlo IV in 1708 part of the library was sold to Venice and passed through Recanati to the Marciana. The remainder was sold in 1735, and part of this has come through the Canonici collection into the Bodleian.

Marburgensis, Marburg, Germ., including Corbeienses Helmstadienses. (Latin codd., C. F. Hermann, 1831.)

Marchandus, MSS. of Prosper Marchand, b. 1675, bibliographer At Leyden since 1756.

Marchianensis, Marchiennes, Fr. Now at Douai.

Marcianus, (1) Library of S. Mark, Venice, founded by Cardinal Bessarion in 1468. (Gk., A. M. Zanetti and A. Bongiovanni, 1740; Castellani, 1896. Lat., J. Valentinelli, 1868–1873.) Cf. Nanianus. (2) Library of S. Mark at Florence, founded by Cosimo de' Medici in 1437. (3) Jan van der Mark or Merk (cf. *Cat. Anc. MSS. Brit. Mus.* i. 15). He collected MSS. at the beginning of the 18th cent. and purchased those of J. de Witt, a jurist of Amsterdam.

Maros-Vasarhely, Hung. Private library of the Teleky family.

Martini Turonensis, S. Martin at Tours, Fr.

Martinsberg (Martisburgum, Marsipolis), s. v. Pannonhalma.

Martisburgensis, Merseburg, Germ. Cathedral Library. Some MSS. from here are in the Stadtbibl., Leipzig.

Massiliensis (Massilia), Marseille, Fr. (Albanès*.)

Matritensis (Matritum, Madritum), Madrid, Sp. (1) Bibl. Nacional, containing MSS. of Const. Lascaris and Merula. (J. Iriarte, 1769; Haenel, pp. 965–74; E. Miller, 1884.) (2) University Library. (Villa Amil y Castro, 1878.) (3) Real Bibl., the private library of the King in the Palacio de la Plaza de Oriente, founded in 1714. MSS. mostly from the suppressed Colegios Mayores of Salamanca. (C. Graux et A. Martin, *Mss. grecs d'Espagne et de Portugal,* 1892; Catalogue by R. Menéndez Pidal, 1898.) Cf. Covarrubias. (4) The library of the Real Academia de la Historia contains MSS. from the

monasteries of S. Millán de la Cogolla, S. Pedro de Cardeña, and from Jesuit houses in Madrid.

Matthaei, Christian Friedrich (1744–1811), German scholar, Professor of Classics at Moscow, 1778–1784, returned to the post after an absence in Germany and held it from 1804–1811. His large collection of Gk. MSS., many of which were stolen from libraries in Moscow, was dispersed by him during his lifetime either as gifts to friends such as Heyne and Ruhnken or sold to the libraries of Leyden and Dresden. (O. von Gebhardt, 'C. F. M. und seine Sammlung gr. Hdsch.,' *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. xv, 1898.)

Maugérard, Jean-Baptiste (1735–1815), a Benedictine of the congregation of S. Vanne. After the Revolution he fled to Germany, where he dealt in MSS. stolen from public libraries. (L. Traube and R. Ehwald, 1904.)

Mazarinensis, -aeus, MSS. of Cardinal Mazarin, many of which came from the collections of Peiresc, du Tillet, Naudé, and Petau. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, i, p. 279.) Now in Bibl. Nat., Paris. For MSS. of the present Bibl. Maz. v. A. Molinier, 1885.

Meadensis, Meadianus, Meadinus, MSS. of Richard Mead, a London physician (1673–1754), friend of Bentley. Some were purchased by Rawlinson and are in the Bodleian. Cf. Askevianus, Taylor.

Medianum in Vosago, Moyenmoutier, Fr. At Épinal and Nancy.

Mediceus, (1) s. v. Laurentianus. (2) Collection of Catherine de' Medici added to the Bibl. Roy. Paris in 1599, often cited as Medicei Regii. Cf. Ridolfianus.

Mediolanensis (Mediolanum), Milan, It., v. Ambrosianus. Brera, Capitolo Metropolitano, Trivulziana. Cf. I. Ghiron, *Biblioteche e archivi*, 1881.

Mediomatricensis (urbs Mediomatrica), Metz, Germ. The Stadtbibl. contains some Saibante MSS. (Quicherat *). MSS. from the Cathedral were presented to Colbert *circ.* 1676 and are now at Paris.

Mediomontanus, Middlehill, Worcestershire, Eng. s.v. Phillippsianus.

Meerman, Gerard (1722-1771), and his son Jan (1753–1815). Their collection was purchased in 1824 by the Bodleian and by Sir Thomas Phillipps, whose share was purchased by the Berlin Library in 1889 (?). Cf. Claromontanus. (Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, p. 433.)

Meersburg, s. v. Carolsruhensis.

Meldensis (Meldae), Meaux, Fr. Sometimes used for MSS. of du Tillet, Bp. of Meaux, d. 1570. Cf. Tilianus.

Melitensis (Melita), Malta. (C. Vasallo, 1856.)

Mellicensis, Melk, Austr. (*Catalogus*, vol. i, Vienna, 1889.)

Memmiánus, Henri de Mesmes (1532–1596), French diplomatist. His son Jacques died in 1642. Their collection was dispersed at the end of the 17th cent. and the greater part was purchased

for the Bibl. Roy. Paris in 1731. A few in the Bodleian (Selden).

Menagianus, Aegidius Menagius (Gilles Ménage) (1613–1692), French jurist and scholar, left his library to the Jesuits of S. Louis, Paris.

Menckenianus, MSS. of Otto Mencke (1644-1707) and his son Johann Burchard M. (1645-1732), both scholars at Leipzig. The son was author of the well-known *Gelehrten-Lexicon*. MSS. dispersed.

Mendoza, (1) Diego (Didacus) Hurtado de Mendoza (1503–1575), Marquis of Mondejar and Count of Tendilla, ambassador of Charles V at Rome. He made a collection of Gk. MSS. at Venice which was added to the Escurial Library in 1576. (E. Miller, *Catalogue des Mss. grecs de l'Escurial*, pp. iii-iv: Fesanmair, *D. H. de Mendoza*, Munich, 1882.) (2) Francisco de Mendoza y Bobadilla (1508-1566), Cardinal of Burgos. At Madrid.

Mentelianus, Jacques Mentel, physician at Paris. His library was incorporated with the Royal Library, Paris, in 1669.

Merseburg, s. v. Martisburgensis.

Merula, Georgius, of Alexandria della Paglia, near Milan; taught in Venice and Milan, d. 1494. MSS. in Ambrosian and at Madrid.

Messanius, Messanicus (Messana), Messina, Sicily. Contained Gk. MSS. from the Monastery of S. Salvadore and S. Placidus. Destroyed by earthquake 28 Dec., 1908.

Metellianus, Jean Matal (1520–1597), of Cologne, jurist, a friend of Grüter. He owned a MS. of Cicero collated by J. Gulielmus.

Meteora, monastery of, Greece. Many MSS. were removed to Athens. For those still at Meteora v. J. Dräseke, *Die neuen Handschriftenfunde in den M.-Klostern*, in *N. Jahrbücher f. kl. Alt.* 1912, pp. 542 sqq.

Mettensis, Metten, Germ. At Munich. Also used for Mediomatricensis.

Miciacensis, S. Mesmin (S. Maximinus) de Micy or My, near Orléans, Fr.

Middlehillensis, s. v. Phillippsianus.

Milich, J. G., advocate of Schweidnitz, left his library to Görlitz in 1726. s. v. Gorlicensis.

Millard, library at Troyes, Fr.

Miller, Emmanuel (1812–1886), assistant in the Department of MSS. in the Bibl. Nat. Paris from 1833–1850 and Bibliothécaire de l'Assemblée Nationale till 1880. Travelled widely in Europe and in the near East. His collection of MSS. is now for the most part in the Bibl. Nat. Paris. (Omont, 1897.)

Minas, Menoides (1790–1860), a Greek employed by the Bibl. Nat. Paris to search for MSS. in Greece.

Mindensis, Minden, Germ.

Minerviensis, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome. v. Casanatensis.

Minoraugiensis (Augia minor), Mindarau, Germ.

Modius, Franciscus (? de Maulde), 1556–1597, of Oudenbourg, near Bruges, Belg. Trained for the law, but devoted his life to work upon classical MSS. in various libraries. (Life by P. Lehmann, 1907.)

Modoetiensis (Modoetia), Monza, It.

Moguntinus (Moguntia), Mainz, Germ. The library of the church of S. Martin, now dispersed. (F. Falk, *Zentralblatt für Bibl.* 1897, Beiheft xviii.)

Monacensis (Monachium), Munich, Germ. (1) University Library, founded 1472. (2) K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek (Gk. MSS., Hardt 1806–1812; Lat., Halm and others), founded by Albrecht V of Bavaria (1550–1579). Contains the collections of Schedel and J. J. Fugger (1575). The main divisions of the library are (1) the old Bibliotheca electoralis; (2) the Codices Augustani, transferred to Munich from the Augsburg Library in 1806; (3) MSS. added during 19th cent. chiefly from the surrounding monasteries.

Monasteriensis (Monasterium), Münster, Germ. Bibl. Paulina founded 1588. (J. Staender, 1889.) Includes the Bibliotheca Fürstenbergica of Franz Egon v. F. added in 1795.

Mon. Aug., Monasterium S. Augustini at Munich. MSS. at Munich.

Moneus, MS. of Plin. *H. N.* found in 1853 by Fridegar Mone (1796–1851) at S. Paul in the Lavant-Thal, Carinthia.

Monspeliensis, s. v. Montepessulanus.

Montalbanius, Ovidius Montalbanius (Montalbani), physician and Professor of Philosophy at Bologna *circ.* 1640. Friend of N. Heinsius.

Montchal, Charles de, Abp. of Toulouse, d. 1651. MSS. purchased by Nicolas Foucquet, surintendant des finances, after whose disgrace, in 1661, they passed to Le Tellier (s. v. Tellerianus), who presented his collections to the Royal Library, Paris, in 1700. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet,* i. 273.)

Montensis, Mons, Belg.

Montepessulanus (Mons Pessulanus), Montpellier, Fr. Contains codd. of Bouhier and Pithou. (Libri*.)

Montepolitianus (Mons Politianus), Montepulciano, It. The Dominican library once here became part of the Magliabecchiana (q. v.).

Monteprandone, It. MSS. of S. Giacomo della Marc a. (A. Crivelucci, 1889.)

More, John (1646–1714), Bp. of Norwich, afterwards of Ely. His library was purchased by George I and presented to the University of Cambridge. s.v. Eliensis.

Morelii codices, MSS. used by Gul. Morelius (Tilianus), who published a commentary on Cic. *De Finibus* at Paris in 1546.

Moretanus, Balthasar Moret of Antwerp, grandson of Plantin the printer, d. 1641. MSS. at Antwerp.

Mospurgensis (Mospurgum), Moosburg, Germ. At Munich.

Mosquensis, Moscuensis (Mosqua, Moscua, Moscovia), Moscow, Russ. (1) University Library. (Reuss, 1831.) (2) Library of the Synod. (C. F. Matthei, 1780; Vladimir, 1894.) (3) Bibliotheca Tabularii imperialis (Arkhiv Ministerstva Inostrannykh Del, or Imperial Record Office), containing library of Macedonian abbot Dionysios given in 1690. (Bělokurov. Cf. O. von Gebhart, *Zentralblatt f. Bibl.* xv. 1898.)

Moysiacensis (Moysiacum, Musciacum), Moissac, Fr. At Paris (Colbert's collection).

Murbacensis, Murbach, Alsace. (A. Gatrio, 1895.) Some Gk. MSS. now at Gotha. Catalogues of the MSS. in the Benedictine monastery there in 15th cent. are given by Zarncke, *Philologus*, 1890, p. 616.

Musciacensis, s. v. Moys-.

Museum Britannicum, s. v. Londiniensis.

Mussipontanum Collegium, Jesuit College at Pont-à-Mousson, Fr. MSS. at Florence (Laurentian).

Mutinensis (Mutina), Modena, It. Bibl. Estense (q. v.).

Mynas, s. v. Minas.

N

Namnetensis (Namnetae, urbs Nannetum), Nantes, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Namurcensis (Namurcum), Namur, Belg.

Nan(n)ianus, (1) MSS. (mostly from the Greek islands) belonging to the Nani family of Venice (e. g. Joh. Bapt. Nani, 1616–1678, a diplomatist). Now in the Marciana, Venice. (Lat. codd., J. Morellius, 1776. Gk. codd., Mingarelli, 1784.) (2) Pieter Nanninck (1500–1557) of Alkmaar, Professor of Latin in the Collegium trium linguarum at Louvain in 1539.

Nansianus, Franciscus Nansius, d. 1595, of Isemberg in Flanders; Professor of Greek in Dordrecht; owner of MSS. of the Agrimensores now lost.

Nantes, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Naudé, Gabriel, librarian to de Mesmes (Memmianus), Queen Christina, and others, d. 1653. His MSS. were purchased by Mazarin and are now in the Bibl. Nat. Paris.

Naulotianus, Claude Naulot Duval of Avallon, Fr. (*circ.* 1573), acquired among others the MSS. belonging to Pélicier (q. v.). His collection was at the Jesuit College of Clermont, Paris, till the dispersal in 1764. s. v. Claromontanus (1).

Navarricus, the Collegium Navarricum at Paris. MSS. in Bibl. Nat. Paris. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, ii, p. 252.)

Nazarianus, S. Nazarius, Lorsch, Germ. Many now in the Vatican (Palatini).

Neapolitanus, Naples, It. (1) Bibl. Nazionale. This library was founded in Rome by Alessandro Farnese (Pope Paul III, 1534–1549). It was ultimately transferred to Naples and united with the Bibliotheca Palatina of Ferdinand II in 1804 under the name of the Bibliotheca Borbonica. MSS. of the Farnese family, of Ianus Parrhasius, and from S. Giovanni a Carbonara and Bobbio, cf. Seripando. (Gk., S. Cyrillo, 1826–1832: Lat., Cataldo Jannelli, 1827; supplement by G. Jorio, Leipzig, 1892.) (2) Brancacciana (s. v.). (3) dei Girolamini (Oratorians). MSS. of Acquaviva and Valletta. (Gk. MSS., E. Martini, 1896: general, E. Mandarini, 1897.) (4) University.

The great library of the Aragonese kings of Naples was founded by Alphonso I (1435–1458). After the campaign of 1495 Charles VIII brought some MSS. to Blois. Frederic III sold the remainder *circ.* 1501 to the Cardinal d'Amboise, whose library in the Château de Gaillon was neglected and plundered in the 16th cent. Many MSS. from it have reached the Bibl. Nat. Paris with the collections of de Thou, Hurault, Séguier, and others. The remnants of the collection at Gaillon were incorporated with the Royal Library in the Louvre under Henry IV. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet*, i. 217–259: G. Mazzatinti, 1897.)

Nemausensis (Nemausus), Nîmes, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Neustetter, Erasmus, of Schönfeld (1525–1594), successively Dean and Provost of the Abbey of Komburg and founder of the library there.

Nicolianus, MSS. belonging to or copied by the Florentine scholar, Niccolò de Nicoli (1363–1437), a pupil of Chrysoloras. MSS. now in the Laurentian.

Niederaltacensis, Niederaltaich, Germ. At Munich.

Nienburgensis, Nienburg an der Saale, Germ. Some at Dessau.

Nilant, a collection of Latin Fables known by the name of the Anonymus Nilanti, published by J. F. Nilant, Leyden, 1709.

Nitriensis, monastery of S. Maria Deipara in the Nitrian desert.

Niwenburgensis, Klosterneuburg, Austr. MSS. from S. Nicola, Passau.

Nomsianus, a MS. of Prudentius (? called after some former owner, e.g. Nomsz) lent by Isaac Voss to N. Heinsius for his edition of 1667.

Nonantulanus, the Benedictine monastery of S. Sylvester at Nonantula, near Modena, It. Transferred to the Sessoriana (q.v.) and now in the Vittorio Emanuele, Rome.

Norfolkianus, s. v. Arundelianus.

Noricus, a name sometimes used for MSS. in Bavarian libraries or owned by Bavarians.

Norimbergensis (Norimberga), Nuremberg, Germ. (C. T. v. Murr, *Memorabilia bibl. publ. Norimbergensium*, 1791; Mammerts, *Miscellanea*, 1895.)

Norvicensis. The MSS. of John More, Bp. of Norwich, afterwards of Ely. s. v. More.

Nostradamensis, Notre-Dame, Paris. In the Bibl. Nat. since 1756 (L. Delisle, 1871) and in Sorbonne. Cf. Avicula.

Novaliciensis (Novalicia), Novalese, near Mt. Cenis, It. (Blume, *Iter Ital.*, iv. 128.)

Novariensis, Novara, It.

Novum Monasterium, Neumünster, Germ.

Nyracensis (Nyrax), Niort, Fr. (Martin and Chotard*.)

O

Oberaltacensis, Oberaltaich, Germ. (Altaha Superior). Now at Munich.

Oberlinianus, Jérémie Jacques Oberlin, of Strassburg, scholar (1735-1806). Strassburg MSS. quoted by him are sometimes cited as *Oberliniani.*

Occo, Adolphus (1524-1605), German physician and antiquary. MSS. at Munich and Zürich.

Oenipontanus (Oenipons), Innsbruck, Tyrol, Austr. University Library. (Cat. 1792; Cat. of Law MSS. 1904.)

Oiselanus, s. v. Avicula.

Oiselianus, MSS. (e. g. Lucan) of Jac. Oiselius (1631-1686), jurist, Professor of Law at Groningen, 1667. (Catalogue, Leyden, 1688.)

Olisiponensis (Olisipo), Lisbon, Portugal. (Index cod. bibl. Alcobatiae, 1775.) Cf. Alcobacensis.

Oliveriana, s. v. Pisaurensis.

Olivetanus, monastery at Naples (Monachi S. Mariae Montis Oliveti). MSS. dispersed.

Olomucenis (Olomucium, Olomuncia), Olmütz, Austr. K.-K. Studienbibliothek. (E. Gollob, *Verzeichnis,* 1903, p. 90.)

Opathovicensis, Opatowic, Russian Poland.

Oratorianus, (1) s. v. Vallicellianus. (2) s. v. Neapolitanus (2).

Orielensis, Oriel College, Oxford.

Orsini, (1) Fulvio O., s. v. Ursinianus. (2) Cardinal Giordano Ursini, d. 1439. MSS. in S. Peter's, Rome. s. v. Basilicanus (1).

Ortelianus, Veit Ortel (1501-1570), born at Winsheim and hence known as Vitus Winshemius; Professor of Greek at Wittenberg and Jena.

Ossecensis (Ossecense monasterium), Ossegg, Bohemia. (*Xenia Bernardina,* II-III.)

Ossoliniana, library at Lemberg (s. v. Leopoliensis).

Ottobonianus, MSS. of the Ottoboni family (e. g. Alexander VIII) incorporated with the Vatican in 1746 by Benedict XIV. Cf. s. v. Altaempsianus. The collection contains a few of the MSS. belonging to

Christina of Sweden. Cf. Reginenses. (E. Feron and F. Battaglini, 1893.)

Ottoburanus, monastery at Ottobeuren, Bavaria, Germ.

Oudendorpianus, Franz von Oudendorp (1696–1761), Professor at Leyden. MSS. left to the library at Leyden by his son Cornelius in 1790.

Ovetensis (Ovetum), Oviedo, Sp. Some MSS. belonging to the Cathedral of San Salvador are now in the Escurial.

Oxoniensis (Oxonia, Oxonium), Oxford, Eng. (1) s. v. Bodleianus. (2) College libraries. (H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codd. MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie asservantur*, 2 vols., 1852. Vol. i contains the MSS. of: University*, Balliol, Merton, Exeter, Oriel, Queen's, New College, and Lincoln*; vol. ii those of: All Souls (Omnium Animarum), Magdalen, Brasenose (Aenei Nasi)*, Corpus Christi, Trinity, S. John's, Jesus*, Wadham, Worcester (Wigorniensis), S. Mary's Hall (now in Oriel). The MSS. of the colleges marked with an asterisk are deposited in the Bodleian. The MSS. of Christ Church (Aedes Christi) are catalogued separately by G. W. Kitchin, 1867.

P

Pacius, (1) Juan Paez de Castro, a Spanish collector, d. 1570. His MSS. were acquired for the Escurial by Philip II and perished by fire in 1671. (Graux.) (2) Julius Pacius de Beriga, b. at Vicenza, 1550, d. at Valence, Fr., 1635; Professor of Civil Law at Montpellier, Aix, Valence, Padua. His collection of MSS. was purchased by Peiresc (q.v.). (Omont, *Annales du Midi*, 1891, vol. iii.) Some of the MSS. were given by Peiresc to Holstenius (q.v.), and were given by him to Hamburg, where they are now in the Johanneum.

Padolironensis, Polirone, It. MSS. of S. Benedetto di Polirone are now at Mantua.

Palatinus, the Palatine Library at Heidelberg, was founded by the Elector Philip (1476–1508). The collection was increased by the addition of the MSS. of Rudolph Agricola (who had helped to form it) and of his friend Johann Dalberg, Bp. of Worms, d. 1503, who had acquired for his library at Ladenburg MSS. from the monastery of Lorsch (s. v. Laureacensis). In 1584 it was enriched by the collection of Ulrich Fugger. After the capture of Heidelberg by Tilly in the Thirty Years' War (1622) the MSS. in the library were presented to the Vatican (1623) by the Emperor Maximilian. Thirty-eight of them were transferred from Rome to Paris by Napoleon after the Treaty of Tolentino (1797). These were restored to Heidelberg in 1816, with the consent of Pius VII. (History by

Wilken, Heidelberg, 1817; Catalogues of the Palatini Vaticani: Gk. MSS. by H. Stevenson, senior, Rome, 1885; Lat. MSS., H. Stevenson, junior, and J. B. de Rossi, 1886.)

Palatino-Florentinus, Palatine MSS. in the Bibl. Nazionale, Florence (s. v. Florentinus).

Palatino-Lucensis, Palatine library at Lucca, It., part transferred in 1847 to Parma.

Palatino-Mannheimensis, Bibl. Palatina at Mannheim, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Palatino-Parmensis, Bibl. Palatina at Parma, It.

Palatino-Vindobonensis, Bibl. Palatina at Vienna.

Pampelonensis, Pampelona, Sp.

Pannonhalma (Monasterium S. Martini supra montem Pannoniae). Martinsberg, Hungary. (V. Récsey, 1901.)

Pannonius, Janus, Bp. of Fünfkirchen, Hungary, *circ.* 1508. MSS. at Budapest.

Panormitanus (Panormus), Palermo, Sicily. (1) Bibl. Nazionale. (E. Martini, 1893; Gk., A. Pennino, 1883.) (2) Bibl. Comunale. (Rossi, 1873.)

Pantin, Pierre (*circ.* 1556-1611), of Louvain, Belg., pupil of André Schott (q. v.), whom he succeeded as Professor of Greek at Toledo and to whom he bequeathed his collection of Gk. MSS. s. v. Covarruvianus.

Papenbroek, Papenbrochius, MSS. of G. Papenbroek left to the Leyden Library in 1743.

Papiensis (Papia), Pavia, It. (L. de Marchi and G. Bertolani, 1894). The Visconti collection is now in Paris (Delisle, *Cabinet des mss.* i, p. 133), having been appropriated by Louis XII *circ.* 1500.

Parcensis, the Abbaye du Parc, a Premonstratensian monastery near Louvain, Belg., dissolved during the Revolution and revived in 1836. (Catalogue of library in 1635 in Sanderus, *Bibl. Belg.*)

Pareus, Philipp Waengler (1576–1648), editor of Plautus, 1610.

Parhamensis, the collection of Robert Curzon (1810–1873), afterwards Baron Zouche, now at Parham Park, Sussex.

Parisinus, Parisiensis (Parisii), Paris.

(1) Bibl. Nationale. Cf. p. 289. Regii (Catalogue, 1739–1744): Ashburnham-Barrois, (Omont, 1902); Libri-Barrois (Delisle, 1888); Miller (Omont, 1897). The history of the various collections is given in L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* 3 vols., Paris, 1868–1881. Among the chief collections are (+ signifies some of the original sources):—Baluziani (+ Salmasiani) added in 1719, Bigotiani 1706, Boheriani 1804, Colbertini (+ Fuxenses. Moissac, Thuanei) 1732, Foucaultiani 1728, Foucquet (+ Montchal) 1667, Gaignières 1715, Mazarinaei (+ Peiresc, du Tillet, Naudé,

A. Petau) 1668, Memmiani 1731, Puteanei 1754, S. Martial 1730, Sangermanenses (+ Fossatenses, Coisliniani, Harley, Corbeienses) 1795. (2) Bibl. de l'Arsenal. (Martin, 1885.) MSS. from Flavigny, Lyon (Augustinians), S. Victor. (3) Bibl. S. Geneviève, founded 1624. (C. Kohler, 1893.) (4) Bibl. Mazarine, founded 1643. (A. Molinier, 1885-1893.) (5) Bibl. de l'Université, Sorbonne. (E. Chatelain, 1885.)

An account of the ancient libraries in Paris will be found in A. Franklin, *Les anciennes bibliothèques de Paris*, 1870.

Parker, Matthew (1504–1575), Abp. of Canterbury. MSS., with the exception of a few given to the University Library, are at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (M. R. James.)

Parmensis (Parma), Parma, It. Bibl. Palatina. (Gk., E. Martini, 1893.) Cf. Lucensis.

Parrhasianus, Aulus Ianus Parrhasius (Aulo Giano Parrasio), 1470–1534, Neapolitan humanist. Cf. Bobiensis.

Pasquinianus, Pasquino de' Cappelli, Chancellor at Milan under Giangaleazzo *circ.* 1389.

Passau, s. v. Pataviensis.

Passioneus, Cardinal Domenico Passionei (1682–1761), Librarian at the Vatican. After his death his library was purchased for the Angelica (q. v.). It is said to contain MSS. from S. Gall. (Cf. *Histoire de l'Acad. Royale des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xxxi, p. 331, 1767.)

Pataviensis (Patavia, Passavium), Passau, Germ. Some MSS. at Munich. Those from S. Nicola at Klosterneuburg.

Patavinus (Patavium), Padua, It. (1) Bibl. Antoniana. (A. M. Josa, 1886.) (2) Capitular Library. (Scarabello, 1839.) (3) University Library. (J. Tomasini, 1639; C. Landi, *Studi It.*, 1902.) (4) Bibl. del Seminario Vescovile. MSS. from the Jesuit College are at Turin.

Paterniacensis (Paterniacum), Payerne or Peterlingen, Switz. There was formerly a Cluniac House here whose MSS. are now dispersed (some e.g. at Schlettstadt).

Patiriensis, Basilian monastery of S. Maria del Patire, S. Italy. MSS. in Vatican.

Patmi(ac)us, monastery of S. John Theologus, Patmos, Gr. (Sakkelion, 1890; Decharme and Petit de Julleville.)

Paulina, (1) library at Münster, Germ. (2) The old name of the Library of the Dominicans at Leipzig, founded 1229, suppressed in 1540. Monastery (the Paulinum) and library were transferred to the University, Leipzig.

Pavia, s. v. Papiensis.

Pegaviensis, s. v. Pig-.

Peirescianus, Nicolas Claude Fabri Seigneur de Peiresc (1580–1637), a French bibliophile and antiquary. His MSS. he left with

his other property to his brother Palamède Fabri (de Valavez), whose son Claude Fabri, Baron de Rians, sold them in 1647–1648. They can usually be recognized by the monogram N. K. Φ. (sometimes Φ alone) which they bear. A certain number were bought by G. Naudé and have passed through the Mazarin collection to the Bibl. Nat. Paris. There are a few at Carpentras. He presented many MSS. during his lifetime to friends such as Scaliger, Holstenius, Salmasius. (Cf. L. Delisle, *Un grand amateur français*, 1889; Ch. Joret, 1894, and s. v. Pacius.)

Peletier, Le, s. v. Rosanbinus.

Pelicerianus, Guillaume Pélicier, Abp. of Montpellier, 1529–1568. Part of his collection passed to the Bibl. Roy. Paris, part to Claude Naulot (q.v.) and through him to the Jesuit College of Clermont, Paris. The Clermont MSS. are now in the Royal Library, Berlin. (R. Förster, *Rh. Museum*, 1885, xl, pp. 453–61.)

Peltiscensis, s. v. Polotiensis.

Peñiscola, the Papal library at Peñiscola, Sp. Part of it is now included in the Foix collection in the Bibl. Nat. Paris (Fuxenses).

Perizonianus, Jacob Voorbroek (Perizonius), 1657–1715, Professor of Greek at Leyden. MSS. bought in 1715 for the library at Leyden.

Perottus (Perotti), Nicolaus (1430–1480), papal secretary, scholar, and Abp. of Manfredonia. MSS. at Naples and in Vatican.

Perpenianensis (Perpenianum), Perpignan, Fr. (Cadier*.)

Perrenot, s. v. Granvella.

Perusinus, (1) Perugia, It. Bibl. Comunale. (T. W. Allen, *Zentralbl. f. Bibl.* 1893, x. 470.) (2) S. Pierre de Pérouse, Fr.

Pestinensis (Pestinum), Budapest, Hungary. s. v. Budensis.

Petavianus, Paul Petau, 1568–1614, French jurist and antiquary, cousin of Bongars. Part of his collection of MSS. was sold by his son Alexandre to Queen Christina of Sweden and is now in the Vatican; part was sold to Lullin and is now at Geneva. Many of his MSS. came from S. Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury).

Petrensis, Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Petriburgensis, S. Petersburg, Russia. (1) Imperial Library. (E. de Muralt, 1840, 1864.) MSS. of Uspensky and from S. Germain-des-Prés and Sinai. Cf. also Zaluski, Dubrovski, Sukhtelen, Polotzk, Varsoviensis. (2) Libr. of the Academy. (Tichanov, 1881.) (3) Hermitage. (4) University. (5) Eccl. Academy. (A. Rodosski, 1894.)

Petrinus, s. vv. Basilicanus, Münster.

Petripolitanus, s. v. Petriburgensis.

Petrucci, Antonello de', died 1487, minister of Ferdinand I of Naples. His MSS. had become part of the Aragonese Royal Library at Naples and were brought to France by Charles VIII in 1495. Now at Paris.

Peutingerianus, Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), patrician of Augsburg,

jurist and antiquary, friend of Luther. Conrad Celtes bequeathed to him the ancient Itinerarium discovered at Speyer, since known as the Tabula Peutingeriana and now in the Imperial Library, Vienna. The fragment of Cic. *Pro Flacco* called the Frag. Peutingerianum is only known from Cratander's edition.

Phanarianus, the library of the Patriarch in the Phanar or old Greek quarter of Constantinople.

Philelphus, Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), Italian humanist. MSS. in Laurentian, Vatican, Paris, Leyden, Wolfenbüttel.

Phillippsianus, Phillippicus: the collection made by Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), antiquary and bibliophile, of Middle Hill, Worcestershire (hence the MSS. are cited in the older classical works as Mediomontani). His most important purchase of classical MSS. was the large portion of the Meerman collection (s.v.) which he secured in 1824. In 1862 the library was removed to Thirlstane House, Cheltenham, where some valuable MSS. are still preserved. The remainder have been dispersed at various sales since 1890. The German government purchased the Meerman MSS., which are now at Berlin. (Cat. Librorum MSS. in Bibl. Phillippica, 1824–? 1867; Meermaniani Graeci in Studemund and Cohn, 1890.)

Phorcensis (Phorca), Pforzheim, Germ. s. v. Carolsruhensis.

Picciolpassus, Francesco Pizzolpasso, Abp. of Milan, 1435–1443. His collection of MSS. is now in the Ambrosian. (R. Sabbadini, *Le Scoperte*, p. 120.)

Piccolomini, Aeneas Sylvius, Pope Pius II, 1405–1464. MSS. at Siena and in Vatican, v. Sandys, *Cl. Rev.*, 1903, p. 461.

Pictaviensis (Pictavia), Poitiers, Fr. (Molinier and Lievre*.)

Pierpont Morgan, J., purchased MSS. from Ashburnham and Morris collections. (Cat. 1906.)

Pigaviensis, Pegau, Germ. MSS. of S. Jakob at Pegau, now in University Library, Leipzig.

Pighianus, Stephen Vinand Pighe (1520–1604) of Kampen, Holland, Secretary to Cardinal Granvella. A collection of drawings of ancient monuments made by him is known as the 'codex Pighianus'.

Pilar, library at Saragossa, Sp.

Pincianus, s. v. Salmanticensis.

Pinellianus, Gian Vincenzo Pinelli of Genoa, 1535–1601, friend of Fulvio Orsini and Claude du Puy. His collection was purchased for the Ambrosian library at Milan by Borromeo in 1608. (Cf. Blume, *Iter Ital.*, i. 129–130.)

Pintianus, s. v. Salmanticensis.

Pinus, Joannes. Jean de Pins, Bp. of Rieux (1523–1537), ambassador at Rome and Venice. MSS. acquired by Francis I for Fontainebleau, whence they have passed to Paris.

Pirkheimer, Willibald (1470–1530), Ratsherr at Nuremberg, scholar and collector. Cf. Arundelianus.

Pirnensis, Pirna, Germ. Many MSS. in University Library, Leipzig.

Pisanus (Pisae), Pisa, It.

Pisaurensis (Pisaurum), Pesaro, It. Bibl. Oliveriana.

Pistoriensis (Pistorium), Pistoja, It. (1) Liceo Forteguerri. (Zaccaria, *Biblioth. Pistor.*, 1752.) (2) Bibl. Fabroniana, founded by Cardinal Carlo Agostino Fabroni in 1719.

Pithoeanus, Pierre Pithou (1539–1596), jurist and antiquary, and François Pithou, his twin brother, Chancellor of the Parliament of Paris, d. 1621, the discoverer of the MS. of *Phaedrus*. Their collection is mainly at Troyes and Montpellier. Cf. Thuaneus, Rosanbinus.

Pius, (1) Pope Pius II, s. v. Piccolomini. (2) Albertus, Count of Carpi, It., man of learning and diplomatist, d. 1529. MSS. at Modena (Estenses) and a few in the Ambrosian, Milan, and in Ottoboniana (Vatican). (3) Ridolfo Pio (d. 1564), Cardinalis Carpensis. His collection was dispersed after his death. Part came to the Vatican.

Placentinus (Placentia), Piacenza, It. (A. Balsamo, *Studi It.*, 1899.) Cf. Landianus.

Plantinianus, Christophe Plantin (1514–1589), printer at Antwerp. His business as printer was carried on by J. Moretus, who married his second daughter, and by their descendants. The Museum belonging to the firm was purchased by the City of Antwerp in 1877. (H. Stein, *Les Mss. du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, 1886.)

Podianus, Prospero Podiani (d. 1615), a jurist of Perugia. MSS. in Vatican. (Carini, *Bibl. Vat.*, p. 77.)

Podiensis, Du Puy, Fr. Bought by Colbert and now at Paris. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i. 517.)

Poggianus, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) of Florence, Papal secretary and humanist.

Pollingensis, Pollingen, Germ. At Munich.

Polotiensis (Polotium, Peltiscum), Polotzk, Russia. MSS. of the Jesuit Academy were acquired for the Imperial Library, S. Petersburg, in 1831.

Pommersfelden, Gräfl. Schörnborn-Wiessentheid'sche Bibl. in the Castle of Weissenstein. Founded by Lothar v. Schön. Abp. of Mainz and Bp. of Bamberg, d. 1729. Contains MSS. from Gaibach, Rebdorf, Erfurt. (P. Schwenke, *Adressbuch*, s. v.)

Pontanus, Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426–1503), poet and historian, Secretary to Alfonso of Naples.

Pontiniacensis (Pontiniacum), Pontigny, Fr. MSS. now at Auxerre and Montpellier.

Porfirianus, s.v. Uspenskyanus.

Portensis, Schulpforta, Germ.

Posnaniensis (Posnania), Posen, Germ. Bibl. Raczynski. (Sosnowski, 1885.)

Posoniensis (Posonium), Pressburg, Hungary. Appony Library, founded 1825.

Posthius, Joannes (1537–1597), German physician of Würzburg and owner of MSS. (Cf. P. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius*, p. 136.)

Praemonstratensis, Prémontré, in the Forest of Coucy near Rheims, Fr. It was the centre of the Premonstratensian or Norbertine order founded by Norbert in 1119. Some MSS. formerly here are now at Soissons.

Pragensis (Praga), Prag, Bohemia. (1) University Library. (J. Kelle, 1872; Lat., J. Truhlář, 1905.) (2) Premonstratensian monastery of Strahov. (Weyrauch, 1858.)

Pratellensis, Préaux, Fr. At Paris.

Pratensis, s. v. S. Germani.

Pressburgensis, s. v. Posoniensis.

Probatopolitanus (Probatopolis, Scaphusum), Schaffhausen, Switz. (Boos, 1877.)

Proustellianus, Guillaume Prousteau (1626–1715), jurist and bibliophile of Orléans, Fr. He purchased the library of Valesius. His collection is still at Orléans. (Catalogue, 1721 and 1777.)

Provin(i)ensis (Provinum), Provins, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Prumiensis, Prüm, Germ. Monastery of S. Salvator.

Pulaviensis, Pulawy (now Nowa Alexandria) near Lyublin, in Russian Poland. (Cf. *Serapeum*, vi. 48, xi. 333.)

Pulmannianus, MSS. owned or collated by Theodor Pulmann (*circ.* 1590), a scholar who published a number of works with Plantin of Antwerp. Some are at Brussels.

Puteaneus or Puteanus, the brothers Pierre (d. 1651) and Jacques Dupuy (d. 1656). They were placed in charge of the Bibl. Royale, Paris, in 1645. They bequeathed to the library their collection of MSS., many of which they had inherited from their father Claude Dupuy (d. 1594).

Pyrkheimerianus, s. v. Pirkheimer.

Q

Quedlinburgensis, Quedlinburg near Halberstadt, Germ.

Queriniana, s. v. Brixianus.

R

Raczynskianus, Raczyński Library at Posen, Germ.

Radingensis (Radinga), Reading, England.

Radulphi, s. v. Ridolfianus.

Ragusa, John of Ragusa in Dalmatia (de Ragusio), Cardinal and Bp.

of Strassburg, d. 1443; left his collection of MSS. to the Dominicans of Basel, Switz. Many of them are now in the library at Basel. (Omont, *Bibliothèques de Suisse.*)

Rainerianus, collections of papyri made by Graf, Schweinfurth, and others in the Royal Library, Vienna, now known under the title of 'Papyri of the Archduke Rainer', who secured them for the library in 1884. (J. Karabaček and others, Vienna, 1892.)

Raitenhaslacensis, Raitenhaslach, Germ. At Munich.

Rastattensis, Rastatt, Germ. Castle of the Margraves of Baden. The library once here is now at Karlsruhe (s. v. Carolsruhensis).

Ratisponensis (Ratispona, Regisburgicum), Ratisbon or Regensburg, Germ. MSS. of S. Emmeram, now at Munich.

Raudensis (Raudium, Rhaudium), Rho near Milan, It.

Raudnitzianus, Raudnitz, Austr., s.v. Lobcoviciensis.

Ravennas, Ravenna, It. Bibl. Classense (s. v.).

Ravianus, MSS. of Christianus Ravius (Raue), 1613–1677, Orientalist, theologian, and traveller; lectured in England, Sweden, Germany; MSS. purchased by Queen Christina. In Vatican, s.v. Reginensis, and at Berlin.

Rawlinson, MSS. left to the Bodleian by Richard Rawlinson (1689–1755), nonjuror, collector of books and coins. (Madan, *Summary Cat.*, iii. 177.)

Rebdorfensis, Rebdorf, Germ. s. v. Augustanus, Pommersfelden.

Recanatianus, Recanati, It. The cod. Recanatianus of Livy is now Marcianus 364.

Redonensis (Urbs Redonum, Condate), Rennes, Fr. (Maillet, 1837; Vetault*.)

Regalis mons, Royaumont, Fr.

Regiensis (Regium Iulii), Reggio (Emilia), It. The famous library of the monastery of S. Spirito is now incorporated with the Bibl. Municipale. (T. W. Allen, *Class. Rev.*, 1889, p. 13.)

Regimontanus (Regimontium), Königsberg, Germ. (A. Steffenhagen, 1861.)

Reginensis, library of Christina, Queen of Sweden (1626–1689), collected for the most part by Isaac Vossius *circ.* 1650. The collection included MSS. which had belonged to P. Daniel, P. and A. Petau (s. v. Petavianus and Floriacensis), part of the Goldast collection, and many MSS. taken from German monasteries during the Thirty Years' War. She bequeathed it to Cardinal Azzolino, after whose death it was purchased in 1689 by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, who on becoming pope, under the title of Alexander VIII, transferred most of the MSS. to the Vatican, where they formed the *Bibliotheca Alexandrina.* The remaining MSS., about 100 in number, he kept in his private collection, the Ottoboniana. This remained in the

possession of his family, till it was purchased *circ.* 1746 by Benedict XIV and incorporated in the Vatican. A few books strayed from the collection, e.g. Vat. lat. 7277, which came into the Vatican from the library of Garampi. (Gk. MSS., H. Stevenson, 1888.)

Regiomontanus, Royaumont, Fr.

Regius, (1) Bibliothèque Royale, now the Bibl. Nationale, Paris. The MSS. retain the numbers of the Catalogue of 1682. (2) The Royal Library in S. James's Palace, removed to the British Museum in 1752. (3) King's College, Cambridge. (4) King's College, Aberdeen.

Rehdigeranus, Thomas von Rehdiger (1541–1576), collector and scholar. His MSS. were kept in the church of S. Elizabeth at Breslau till 1865, when they were added to the Stadtbibliothek. (A. W. Wachler, 1828; *Cat. Codd. Graecorum* in Bibl. Urbica Vratislav., 1889.)

Reichenaviensis (Augia dives or maior), Reichenau, near Constance, Switz. The Monastery was secularized in 1803 and the MSS. dispersed between Karlsruhe (Cat. by A. Holder, 1906), London, Stuttgart, S. Paul in Carinthia, and Zürich.

Reinesius, Thomas (1587–1667), German physician and collector of MSS. and antiquities. Cf. Cizensis.

Relandus, Adrian Reland (1676–1718), Dutch scholar.

Resbacensis, Rébais, monastery in diocese of Meaux, f. *circ.* 634 by S. Ouen.

Reuchlin. s. v. Carolsruhensis.

Rheinaugiensis (Rheni Augia), Rheinau, Switz. MSS. at Zürich.

R(h)emensis (Urbs Remorum), Reims, Fr. (H. Loriquet*.)

Rhenanus, Beatus (1485–1547), German scholar. MSS. at Schlettstadt.

Rheno-Trajectinus, s.v. Trajectinus.

Rhenoviensis, s. v. Rheinaug-.

Rhodigium, Rovigo, It. (Mazzatinti.)

Richenoviensis, s. v. Reichen-.

Riccardianus, s.v. Florentinus.

Richelianus, MSS. of Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642). Became the property of the Sorbonne in 1660. Transferred with the rest of the Sorbonne MSS. to the Bibl. Nat. Paris in 1796. Some at Leyden. (Delisle, *Cabinet,* ii. 204.)

Ricomagensis (Ricomagus), Riom, Fr.

Ridolfianus, Cardinal Nicholas Ridolfi, nephew of Pope Leo X, collected a famous library of MSS. with the aid of Ianus Lascaris and others. His heirs in 1550 sold his collection to Marshal Piero Strozzi, whose collection on his death in 1558 was seized by his kinswoman Catherine de' Medici, from whom it has passed to the Bibl. Nat. Paris. (L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits,* i. 207.) A few in London and Florence (Magliabecchiana and Riccardiana).

Rivipullensis, Riviſollensis (Rivus Pollensis), Ripoll, Sp. At Barcelona.

Rodigium, s.v. Rhodigium.

Rodomensis (Rodomum, Rotomagus), Rouen, Fr. MSS. from S. Audoeni and Fontenelle. (Omont *.)

Rodulphianus, s.v. Ridolfianus.

Roe, Sir Thomas (1581?-1644), ambassador in Turkey, presented some MSS. from the Barocci collection to the Bodleian in 1629. (H. O. Coxe, 1853.)

Roffensis (Roffa), Rochester, Eng. Some MSS. in the British Museum.

Romanus (Roma), Rome, It. (1) Bibl. Alessandria, University Library founded by Alexander VII in 1667. (2) Apostolica Vaticana, s.v. Vaticanus. (3) Bibl. Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele (1876), contains MSS. from about sixty-three suppressed monasteries. (4) Vallicelliana, s.v. (5) Angelica, s.v. (6) Casanatense, s.v. (7) Corsiniana, s.v. (8) Chigiana, s.v. (9) Barberi(nian)a, s.v. (10) S. Pietro, s.v. Basilicanus. (11) Collegio Romano, library of Jesuit College, part of Vittorio Emanuele.

Rosanbinus, Rosanboensis, the family of Le Peletier-Rosanbo of Rosanbo, Fr. Like their relatives the brothers Pithou they collected MSS. in the 16th cent., which are still in the possession of their descendants (e.g. Phaedrus, which belonged to F. Pithou). (Omont, *Cat. des Mss. gr. des Départ.*, p. 67.)

Rossanensis, Rossano, on Gulf of Tarentum, It. (*L'abbaye de R.*, by P. Battifol, 1891.) MSS. mostly in Vatican.

Rossianus, library founded by Commendatore Francesco Rossi, d. 1854, second husband of Carola Ludovica of Bourbon. At Vienna (Lainzerstrasse) since 1877. (Gk. MSS., Van de Vorst, *Zentralbl. für Bibl.*, 1906.)

Rostgardiana, library of Fr. Rostgaard, now part of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark.

Rostochiensis (Rostochium), Rostock, Germ.

Rotomagensis, Rouen, Fr. s.v. Rodomensis.

Rottendorphianus, Bernhard Rottendorf, a physician of Münster, Germ., *circ.* 1650. He was private physician for some time to the Bp. of Paderborn, Ferdinand von Fürstenberg. Part of his collection of MSS. was acquired by M. Gude (s.v. Gudianus) and is now at Wolfenbüttel.

Rubea Vallis, Roodekloster, near Brussels, Belg.

Ruhnkenianus, MSS. of David Ruhnken, 1723-1798, at Leyden since 1799.

Rumiancevi Museum, Rumjánzow Museum, Moscow, Russia.

Rupefucaldi(n)us, François Albert, Seigneur de Rochefoucauld; a

learned Frenchman, Bp. of Clermont and Senlis, afterwards cardinal; d. 1645. Some of his MSS. came into the possession of the Jesuits of Clermont and thence into the Meerman collection (q.v.).

Rylands, s.v. Mancuniensis.

S

Saba, (1) s.v. Hierosolymitanus. (2) Basilica of S. Saba, Rome.

Sabbaiticus, s.v. Saba (2).

Sabbioneta, MSS. of Vespasiano Gonzaga, Duke of Sabbioneta, near Mantua (d. 1591). They were left to the Servites of Sabbioneta and are stated by Blume, *Iter Italicum*, i. 196, to have become the property of the Comune. They cannot now be traced. (Cf. T. W. Allen, *Odyssey*, Oxford text, 1910, p. 5.)

Sagiensis (Sagium), S. Martin, Seez, Fr. At Alençon.

Saibantinus, the MSS. of a Veronese collector Giovanni Saibante, of which a catalogue is given by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Bibliothecarum*, p. 490. The collection came into the hands of another Veronese, P. de' Gianfilippi. In 1820 part of it was purchased for the Bodleian; part was sold in Paris in 1821, and the remainder in 1843. MSS. from it are now at Paris, Oxford, Florence (Laurentian), and Metz (Salis). (Cf. Omont, *Zentralblatt für Bibl.*, 1891, in an article on the MSS. at Verona.)

Salamantinus, Salmanticensis (Salmantica), Salamanca, Sp. University Library. (Cat. de los libros mss., 1855; J. Ortiz, *Bibl. Salmantina*, 1777.) Cf. s.v. Matritensis (3).

Salem, Germ. MSS. at Heidelberg, Germ.

Salis, collection at Metz, Germ. Includes part of Gianfilippi and Saibante collections.

Salisburgensis (Salisburgum), Salzburg, Austr. (1) Library of S. Peter. Some codd. formerly here are now at Munich and Vienna. (2) Studien-Bibl. (K. Foltz, 1877.)

Salisburiensis (Salisburium), Salisbury, Eng. Cathedral Library. (Thompson, 1882.)

Salmanticensis Pintiani, codd. of Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, 1471–1552, called Pintianus from his birthplace Valladolid (Pintia or Pincia Carpetanorum). He was Professor of Greek at Salamanca.

Salmantinus, s.v. Salam-.

Salmasianus, Claude de Saumaise, 1588–1653. Famous as a scholar and as a political controversialist (e.g. against Milton). Some of his MSS. entered the Gude collection (s.v. Gudianus), and others are at Paris in Philibert de la Mare's collection. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i. 361.)

Sambucus, Joannes (1531–1584), Hungarian physician and historian. His collection of MSS. is now in the Hofbibliothek, Vienna.

Sanblasianus, library of S. Blaise (S. Blasien), Germ. Part now at S. Paul in Carinthia ; some of the MSS. at Karlsruhe (s.v. Carolsruhensis).

Sancroftianus, MSS. of William Sancroft (1617–1693), Abp. of Canterbury. Now at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

St. Agerici, S. Ayric or Airy, Verdun, Fr.

S. Albini, St. Aubin, Angers, Fr. (Andegavensis). Some passed into the possession of Petau.

St. Amand, adversaria (chiefly on Theocritus) left to the Bodleian by James St. Amand (1687–1754). (H. O. Coxe, 1853.)

S. Amandi in Pabula, St. Amand en Puelle or Pevèle, near Valenciennes, Fr. (Cf. Elnonensis.) MSS. now in town library, Valenciennes. Some at Paris among Telleriani (q. v.).

S. Angeli ad Nilum, S. Angelo a Nilo, Naples. (Blume, *Bibl. Ital.*, p. 191.) Cf. Brancacciana.

S. Apri, S. Epvre or Êvre, Toul.

S. Arnulphi, Metz, Germ. In Stadtbibl., Metz.

S. Audoeni, Rouen, Fr.

S. Bartolomé, Salamanca, Sp. MSS. at Madrid.

S. Basilii de Urbe, S. Basilio, Rome. MSS. in the Vatican since 1780. Many came from S. Italy.

S. Benedicti supra Ligerim, Monastery of S. Benoît-sur-Loire, at Fleury, Fr. Cf. Bongarsianus, Petavianus.

S. Benignus, S. Benigne, Dijon. At Dijon, Paris, Montpellier.

S. Calixti de Cysoniis, Cysoing, Fr. Now at Lille.

S. Claude, Jura, Fr. The library of the monastery here was plundered in the 17th cent. Fragments are at Paris, Besançon, Troyes, Montpellier. The modern library contains some MSS. from St. Oyan de Joux. (J. Gauthier*.)

S. Creus, Cistercian monastery of Santas Creus, Tarragona, Sp., destroyed in 1835.

S. Crucis, (1) Monastery of Santa Croce, Florence. MSS. in the Laurentian. (2) Heiligenkreuz, N. Austria. (Cistercian.) (3) Heiligenkreuz, Cesta, Küstenland, Illyria, Austria. (Capuchin monastery.) (4) s.v. Hierosolymitanus. (5) S. Crucis in Jerusalem, Rome (in Vittorio Emanuele), s.v. Sessorianus.

San Cucufate de Vallés, Barcelona, Sp. In the Archivo, Barcelona.

S. Daniele, s.v. Foroiuliensis.

S. Ebrulfi, S. Évroul, Fr. At Alençon and Rouen. Cf. Uticensis.

S. Eligii, (1) S. Eloy, Arras, Fr. (2) Scuola di S. Eligio, Milan, It.

S. Emmeram, monastery at Ratisbon, Germ. MSS. now at Munich.

S. Eugendi, S. Oyan, Fr. Cf. S. Claude.

S. Fidei, Schlettstadt, Germ.

Sancti Galli in Helvetia, s. v. Sangallensis.

S. Gatiani, S. Gatien, Tours, Fr., s.v. Turonensis.

S. Geminiani, S. Gimignano, It.

S. Geneviève, s.v. Paris.

S. Germani in Pratis, the Benedictine Abbey of S. Germain-des-Prés, near Paris. Besides MSS. which had belonged to the abbey since the 9th cent. the library included at the end of the 18th cent. the collections of Séguier, Renaudot, Harlay, and Cardinal de Gesvres. In 1638 it received 400 MSS. from Corbie; in 1716 the MSS. of S. Maur-des-Fossés. It was plundered in 1791 and Dubrovsky (q.v.) purchased some of the Corbie MSS. After a disastrous fire in 1794 the surviving MSS. were transferred to the National Library at Paris.

S. Gregorii, Monastery of S. Gregory at Rome. MSS. now in the Vittorio Emanuele. (Cf. S. Michaelis Venetiis.)

S. Illidii, S. Allyre, Puy-de-Dôme, Fr.

S. Iohannis de Carbonaria, S. Giovanni a Carbonara, Naples, It. Once contained MSS. of Demetrius Chalkondylas, Th. Gaza, and Janus Parrhasius. Now in the Nazionale, Naples, and at Vienna.

S. Iohannis in Viridario, S. Giovanni in Verdura, Padua, It. MSS. at Holkham and Venice.

S. Mang, Stadt am Hof, Bavaria. Now at Munich.

S. Mariae, Uelzen, near Lüneburg, Germ.

S. Mariae Deiparae, Nitrian monastery. MSS. in Brit. Mus.

S. Mariae de Cupro, monastery at Coupar Angus, Scotland.

S. Martialis, Limoges. At Paris since 1730. (Delisle, *Cabinet*, i. 387.)

S. Martini, (1) Tours, Fr., s.v. Turonensis. (2) Tournai, Belg., s.v. Tornacensis. (3) Pressburg, Germ. (Posonii). (4) s.v. Pannonhalma.

S. Maximini, (1) Trèves (Trier), Germ. A few MSS. remain at T., the rest are widely dispersed. s. v. Goerresianus. (2) S. Mesmin de Micy, near Orléans, Fr., s.v. Miciacensis.

S. Michaelis, (1) S. Michele, Venice. The library was dispersed in 1812. Many MSS. were purchased by Capellari (afterwards Gregory XVI) and by Zurla (afterwards Cardinal), and were given by them to the Monastery of S. Gregory at Rome. This library is now incorporated with the Vittorio Emanuele. (Cicogna, *Bibliografia Veneziana*, 1847, p. 580.) (2) S. Michaelis in periculo maris, Mont-Saint-Michel, Fr. At Avranches. (3) S. Mihiel, Fr. (Michelant*.) (4) s.v. Clusensis.

S. Nicolai templum monasterii Cassulorum, s.v. Hydruntinus.

S. Pantaleonis, a famous monastery at Cologne, Germ. MSS. widely dispersed.

S. Patak, college at Admont, Austr.

S. Pauli in Carinthia, S. Paul in the Lavant-Thal, Carinthia, Austr.

S. Petri, (1) s.v. Basilicanus. (2) San Pedro de Cardeña, near Burgos, Sp., s.v. Matritensis (4).

S. Placidi, S. Placido, south of Messina, Sicily. Destroyed in the bombardment of 1848. MSS. said to have been in University Library, Messina.

S. Remigii, S. Rémy, Rheims, Fr.

S. Salvatoris, S. Salvatore de' Greci, Messina, Sicily; partly destroyed in 1848. MSS. in University Library Messina, and Vatican.

S. Spiritus, Monastery of S. Spirito, Reggio in Emilia, It. (s.v. Regiensis).

S. Stephani, (1) S. Étienne, Fr. (Galley*.) (2) Monastery, Würzburg, Germ. (P. Lehmann, *Franciscus Modius*, p. 126.)

S. Taurini, s.v. Eboricanus, Duperron.

S. Trudonis, S. Trond, Belg. At Brussels and Liège.

S. Vedasti, S. Vaast or Vedast of Arras, Fr. MSS. at Arras, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

S. Victoris, Abbey at Paris. Now in the Bibl. Nationale and Arsenal Library. (L. Delisle, 1869.)

S. Vincentii, S. Vincent, Besançon, Fr.

S. Zenonis, S. Zeno at Reichenhall, Germ. Now at Munich.

Sangallensis, S. Gall, Switz. (1) Bibl. Monasterii S. Galli. (G. Scherrer, 1875: History by Weidmann, 1846.) (2) Bibl. Vadiana sive Oppidana, founded by Joachim von Watt or Vadianus, 1484–1551, a Swiss jurisconsult and friend of Zwingli. (G. Scherrer, 1864; Haenel, pp. 665–722.)

Sangermanensis, s.v. S. Germani.

Sannazarianus, Jacopo Sannazaro (Actius Sincerus), 1458–1530. His MS. of Ovid's *Halieutica* is now at Vienna.

Santenianus, Laurens van Santen, of Leyden (1746–1798). MSS. at Berlin (Diez collection).

Sarisberiensis, s.v. Salisb-.

Sarravianus, Claude Sarrau, member of the Parliament of Paris, d. 1651. Part of his collection is at Leyden.

Sarzanensis, Sarrezano, It.

Savigneiensis, Savigny, Fr. MSS. bought by Colbert, now at Paris.

Savilianus, MSS. of Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622), Warden of Merton College, Oxford, and Provost of Eton. Gave MSS. to the Bodleian in 1620.

Savinianus, bibl. com. at Savignano di Romagna, It.

Scaliger, Joseph Justus (1540–1609), scholar. MSS. at Leyden. (Cat. 1910.)

Scaphusianus, s.v. Probatopolitanus.

Schedelianus, Hartmann Schedel, 1440–1514. A Nuremberg physician, author of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. His collection of MSS. now

in the Staatsbibliothek, Munich. (R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*, 1906.)

Scheftlarnensis, Scheftlarn on the Isar, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Schirensis, Scheyern, Germ. At Munich.

Schlettstadtensis, Schlettstadt, Alsace, Germ. Contains MSS. S. Fidei (a Benedictine monastery) and of Beatus Rhenanus. (*Cat. gén. des MSS.* iii. 1861; F. Urtel, *N. Jahr. f. Phil.* 109, p. 215.)

Schottanus, Andreas Schott, 1552–1629, a Belgian Jesuit, classical teacher in Spain (Toledo) and in Italy. MSS., many of which he inherited from Pantin (s.v.), at Brussels and in Bodleian (Canonici).

Scorialensis, s.v. Esc-.

Sedanensis (Sedanum), Sedan, Fr. University here was abolished in 1681 and the library dispersed.

Seguieranus, Pierre Séguier (1588–1672), Chancellor of France and a notable patron of learning. s.v. Coislinianus.

Seguntinus (Seguntia), Siguenza, Sp. Chapter Library.

Seidelianus, Andreas Erasmus Seidel, 1650–1707. Dragoman in the Venetian service in Greece. His MSS. were sold in 1712 and are now at Leipzig, Dresden, Berlin, Moscow, Hamburg, British Museum, and Holkham.

Seitenstettensis, Seitenstetten, Austr. Huemer, *Wiener Stud.* 1887, p. 69.

Seldenianus, collection of John Selden, 1585–1654, the famous jurist, bequeathed to the Bodleian in 1654. (H. O. Coxe, 1853.)

Selestadiensis (Selestadium), Schlettstadt, Alsace, Germ. s.v. Sch-.

Senatorianus, Bibl. Senatoria, Leipzig, Germ. (A. G. R. Naumann, 1838.)

Senckenberg, Renatus Karl von, left his library in 1800 to Giessen.

Senensis (Sena Julia), Siena, It. (1) Bibl. Comunale (L. Ilari, 1844–1848). (2) Bibl. eccl. Cathedralis. (E. Piccolomini, 1899: for MSS., &c. taken to the Chigiana, Rome, v. Blume, *It. Ital.* iv. 228.)

Senonensis (Agendicum Senonum), Sens, Fr. At Auxerre and Montpellier.

Seonensis, Benedictine monastery of S. Lambert at Seon, Bavaria, Germ. MSS. at Munich.

Seripando, Cardinal Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563), general of the Augustinians, presented his own library and that of his brother Antonio to the Augustinian monastery of S. Giovanni a Carbonara. These are now for the most part in the library at Naples. A few are at Vienna and in the Brit. Museum (*Cat. of Anc. MSS.* i, p. 15). Many of Antonio's MSS. were left to him by Parrhasius.

Serres, Macedonia. The μονὴ Προδρόμου.

Sessorianus, MSS. belonging to the College of the Cistercians at Rome, in the Church of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, or Basilica

Sessoriana (so called from its vicinity to Constantine's palace, the Sessorium). Now in the Bibl. Vittorio Emanuele (q. v). Cf. Nonantulanus.

Severnianus, 'MSS. in the library of Mr. Severn of Thenford House, near Banbury. They belonged formerly to Dr. Askew.' (Arnold, *Thucydides*. vol. ii, p. viii).

Severus, Gabriel of Monembasia, Abp. of Philadelphia early in 16th cent., lived afterwards at Venice. Some of his MSS. are at Turin and in Bodleian (Laudiani).

Seviliensis (Sevilia), Seville, Sp. s. v. Columbina.

Sevin, François, employed *circ.* 1728 to collect MSS. in the East for the Royal Library, Paris. (Omont, *Missions archéolog.*, 1902, p. 433.)

Sfortianus, library of the Sforza family at Rome. The collection of Giovanni Sforza of Pesaro is described by A. Vernarecci in *Arch. stor. per le Marche e per l'Umbria*, iii, p. 513, 1886. MSS. of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza (1518-1564) have passed through the collection of Passionei to the Angelica at Rome.

Sigeburgensis, Benedictine monastery of Siegburg, near Bonn, Germ.

Sigiramnensis, s. v. Cygir-.

Signiacensis, Signy, Fr. At Charleville.

Silos, monastery of, near Burgos, Sp. Some MSS. at Paris and London.

Sinaiticus, Mount Sinai, monastery of S. Catherine. (Gardthausen, 1886: Benešević, 1911.)

Sinopensis, Sinope, Asia Minor.

Sionensis, Sion College, London.

Sirletanus, Cardinal Sirleto (1514-1585), librarian at the Vatican. MSS. were purchased in 1611 by J. A. Altaemps (q. v.) and through him have passed to the Vatican. A few are in the Escurial.

Sloanianus, collection of Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753), purchased in 1754 for the British Museum. (E. J. Scott, 1904.)

Slusianus, Johannes Gualterus, Cardinalis Slusius (d. 1687), b. at Vise in diocese of Lüttich (Liège). The catalogue of his library at Rome is given in Montfaucon, *B. Bibl.*, p. 175, and was published separately by F. Deseine, Rome, 1690. Purchased by Queen Christina of Sweden for her collection, now in the Vatican (Bibl. Alexandrina).

Smyrnensis, Smyrna, Asia Minor. (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 1877.)

Solodurensis (Solodurum), Solothurn, Switz.

Sonegiensis (Sonegium, Sogniacum), Soignies, Belg.

Sorbonnensis, Sorbonianus, the Sorbonne, Paris. Now in the Bibl. Nat. (Lat. Delisle, 1870: Gk. Omont, *Inventaire sommaire.*)

Spanhemensis, Sponhemensis, Spanheim, Germ. The Palatine MS. of the Anthology is thought to have belonged to the monastery there.

Sparnacensis (Sparnacum), Épernay, Fr.

Spencerianus, s.v. Althorp.

Spinaliensis (Spinalium), Épinal, Fr.

Spirensis (Spira Nemetum), Speyer, Germ.

Stabulensis (Stabulum), S. Remacle at Stavelot or Stabloo, Belg. Now at Paris.

Stephanus, Henricus (Estienne), 1531–1598. French printer and scholar. Some MSS. in British Museum (Harleian), Stockholm, Geneva, and Paris.

Strahoviana, library of Premonstratensian Canons at Prague.

Strozzianus, (1) Piero Strozzi (1500–1558), Marshal of France, v. Ridolfianus. (2) Carolus Strozza, of Florence (1587–1670). MSS. in the Laurentian and in Magliabecchiana collection (Bibl. Centrale), Florence.

Stuttgardensis, or Stuttgartinus (Stuttgardia), Stuttgart, Germ.

Sublacensis (Sublaqueum), Subiaco, It. Bibl. dell' Abbazia. (Mazzatinti.)

Sukhanov, Arsenii Sukhanov, archdeacon of Moscow, visited Egypt (1649) and Athos. MSS. in Library of the Synod, Moscow. Cf. F. Spiro's *Pausanias*, i, p. vii.

Suchtelenianus, MSS. of Count Sukhtelen incorporated with the Imperial Library, S. Petersburg, in 1836.

Suecicus, v. Sueco-Vat.

Sueco-Vaticanus, Collection of Christina of Sweden, now in the Vatican, also called Reginensis (q.v.).

Suessionensis (Suessio, Noviodunum), Soissons, Fr. (Molinier*: E. Fleury.)

Susianus, Jacobus Susius (Suys), of Holland (fl. *circ.* 1590). Owner of various MSS., e.g. Leyden codex of Germanicus Aratea.

Sylburgius, F. (1536–1596), German scholar. MSS. at Munich.

Syon, monastery of the Brigittine order at Isleworth, Eng. The library was dispersed on the suppression of the monastery in 1539 (old catalogue ed. by M. Bateson, 1898).

Syracusanus, Syracuse, Sicily. (Mazzatinti, 1887.)

T

Tanneriani, MSS. of Thomas Tanner (1674–1735), Bp. of S. Asaph. In Bodleian, Oxford.

Tarvisiensis (Tarvesium, Trevisium), Treviso, It. ? At Venice.

Taurinensis (Augusta Taurinorum), Turin, It. Bibl. Nazionale and University Library. (J. Pasini, 1749; G. Ottino (Bobienses), 1890. It suffered severely from the fire on Jan. 26, 1904. Cf. E. Stampini, *Rivista di Filologia*, 32, p. 385; G. Gorrini, 1904.)

Taylor, John (1704–1766), classical scholar. Left his MSS. to A. Askew (s.v. Askevianus, cf. Tophanes).

Tegernseensis, Tegernsee, Bavaria. - Now at Munich.

Teleky, s.v. Maros-Vasarhely.

Tellerianus Remensis, Charles Maurice Le Tellier, Abp. of Rheims, d. 1710. He presented his MSS. to the Bibl. Roy., Paris, in 1700.

Teplensis, Tepl, Bohemia.

Teutoburgensis, Duisburg, Germ. s.v. Duisburgensis.

Theodoriana, library at Paderborn, Germ.

Thessalonicensis, Salonica, Turkey. (Cf. Sp. Lambros, *Athenaeum*, 1890, p. 451.)

Thevenotianus, MSS. belonging to Melchisédech Thévenot (1620-1692), traveller, librarian of Bibl. Royale, Paris, 1684-1692. Mostly at Paris since 1712.

Tholonensis, Toulon, Fr.

Thompsonianus, collection of H. Yates Thompson, England. (Descriptive Catalogue of Fifty MSS., 1898; Facsimiles, 1908, 1912.)

Thosanus, Cistercian monastery of Ter Doest, near Bruges, Belg. Since the time of Napoleon the greater part of the MSS. have been in the public Library of Bruges. Others at Berlin, Brussels, Cambridge, Leyden.

Thottiana, at Copenhagen, now part of the Royal Library. (Catalogue, 1789.)

Thuaneus, Jacques Auguste de Thou, President of the Parliament of Paris and keeper of the Royal Library. From 1573-1617 he formed a large collection consisting largely of MSS. once owned by Pierre Pithou, Nicolas Le Febvre, and the Jesuits of Clermont (i.e. the first collection made before their expulsion in 1595). This was purchased by Colbert in 1680.

Thysiana, a library at Leyden, founded 1655 by Dr. Johannes Thysius, now part of the University Library. (P. J. Blok, 1907.)

Ticinensis, Ticino, It. Visconti library was removed to France by Louis XII in 1500. Some MSS. now at Paris. Cf. Laurentii Pignorii *Symbolarum Epistolic. liber*, ep. xvi, p. 54. Patavii, 1628.

Tigurinus, Tigurum, Zürich, Switz. Cf. Turicensis.

Tiliobrogianus, Friedrich Lindenbrog or Lindenbruch, of Hamburg, 1573-1648: editor of Statius. Some of his MSS. came into the possession of Marquard Gude (s.v. Gudianus).

Til(l)ianus, (1) Joannes Tilius (Du Tillet) came from a family belonging to the Angoumois (hence called Engolismensis), Bp. of Meaux, d. 1570. He was a noted antiquary. MSS. once in his possession are at Leyden, Wolfenbüttel, and in the Vatican. (C. H. Turner, Appendix V in Fotheringham's *Facsimile of the Bodleian codex of Jerome's Chronicle.*) (2) s.v. Morelii.

Toletanus (Toletum), Toledo, Sp. Cathedral Library, Bibl. del Cabildo. (Haenel, pp. 983-990.) Fragmentum Toletanum of Sallust

is now at Berlin. Many MSS. transferred to Bibl. Nacional, Madrid.

Tollianus, Jacob Tollius (d. 1696), Professor at Duisburg, Germ.

Tolosanus, Tolosatensis (Tolosa), Toulouse, Fr. (Molinier*.)

Torgaviensis (Torgavia), Torgau, Germ.

Tornacensis (Tornacum), Tournai, Belg. (A. Wilbaux, 1860.) The MSS. of the Cathedral and of the suppressed Monastery of S. Martin were dispersed, v. Haenel, p. 770; Sanderus, *Bibl Belgica*, pp. 91, 208 sqq. Many are among the Telleriani (q. v.).

Tornaesianus, Jean Detournes, printer of Lyon, d. 1564. He was the possessor of a codex of Cic. *Epp. ad Att.*

Torrentianus, MS. belonging to Laevinus Torrentius (van der Becken), Bp. of Antwerp, d. 1595. Collection passed to the Jesuits of Louvain.

Towneleianus, MSS. belonging to the Towneley family, of Towneley, Lancashire. Dispersed *circ.* 1814, after the death of Charles T. (1737–1805). Some were purchased by Dr. Charles Burney, whose library was bought by the British Museum in 1818.

Tophanes Taylori, conjectures, chiefly on the text of the Attic Orators, preserved among the papers of Richard Topham (1671–1730), of Trinity College, Oxford. T.'s collections were presented to Eton College by Richard Mead, d. 1754. John Taylor the Cambridge scholar (1704–1766) communicated the conjectures to Reiske, who misread 'Topham's (MS.)' as 'Tophanis'.

Traguriensis (Tragurium), Trau, Dalmatia. The MS. of Petronius was discovered there in the Library of Nicolaus Cippicus by Marinus Statilius *circ.* 1650.

Trajectinus (Trajectum ad Rhenum, Ultrajectum), Utrecht, Holland. University Library. (P. A. Tiele, 1887; Hulshof, 1909; De Utrechtsche Universiteitsbibliotheek, J. F. van Someren, 1909.)

Transylvanensis, s.v. Batthyanianus.

Trecensis (Trecae, Augustobona Trecassium), Troyes, Fr. (Harmand*, Dorez et Det*.)

Trevirensis (Augusta Trevirorum), Trier or Trèves, Germ. (Keuffer, 1888.)

Trevethianus, a family of MSS. of Seneca's Tragedies which preserve the readings of a MS. used by an English Dominican Nicholas Treveth or Triveth (1258–1328).

Trevisani, a family at Padua who once owned the Bodleian (Saibante) Epictetus. v. Tommasini, *Bibliotheca Patavina*, Utini, 1639, p. 115.

Tricassinus, s. v. Trecensis.

Trincavellianus, Vettore Trincavelli (1491–1563), Venetian physician and scholar. He produced the *Ed. pr.* of Stobaeus, 1535.

Trivulziana, Library of the Trivulzi family at Milan, It. (G. Porro, 1884; E. Martini, Gk. MSS., 1896.)

Truebnerianus, Trübner collection at Heidelberg.

Tubingensis (Tubinga), Tübingen, Germ. (W. Schmidt in a Programm, 1902.) The princely library at Hohentübingen is now at Munich.

Tudertinensis (Tudertum), Todi, It.

Turicensis, Zürich, Switz. (1) Cantons- und Universitäts-Bibliothek (Fritzsche, 1848). (2) Stadtbibliothek.

Turingicus, Thuringia. A name given by the older scholars to MSS. belonging to Erfurt (q.v.).

Turonensis (Urbs Turonum, Caesarodunum), Tours, Fr. (Collon*.) Contains MSS. from S. Gatien (Joüan and V. d'Avanne, 1706), S. Martin, and Marmoutiers.

U

Uelcensis, Uelzensis, Uelzen, Lüneburg. A few MSS. from Monastery of S. John Baptist are now at Wolfenbüttel.

Uffenbachianus, Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), a celebrated bibliophile of Frankfort (on Main), Germ. (Catalogues of his library, Halle, 1720; Frankfort, 1729–1731.) Some codd. at Karlsruhe: a few came into the possession of Henry Allen of Dublin (s.v. Alanus).

Ulmensis (Ulma), Ulm, Germ. MSS. at Stuttgart and Munich.

Ultratrajectinus, s.v. Trajectinus.

Upsaliensis (Upsalia), Upsala, Sweden. (J. C. Sparvenfeld, 1706; P. F. Aurivillius, 1806. For MSS. formerly in the Escurial v. Lundström in *Eranos* 2, Upsala, 1897.) MSS. of Benzelius.

Urbevetanus, s.v. Urbs Vetus.

Urbs Vetus, Orvieto, It.

Urbinas (Urbinum), Urbino, It. The MSS. of Federico Duke of Urbino, collected *circ.* 1463, were left to the town of Urbino by Duke Francesco Maria in 1631. They were incorporated with the Vatican by Pope Alexander VII in 1657. (Gk. MSS., Stornajolo, 1895; Lat. MSS., Stornajolo, vol. i, 1902.)

Ursinianus. The MSS. of Fulvio Orsini, numismatist and antiquary (1529–1600). In the Vatican since 1600. (G. Beltrami, 1886.)

Ursonensis (Urso), Osuna, Sp.

Uspenskyanus. The collection of MSS. formed by Porfiri Uspensky (1804–1883), Bp. of Kiev, Russia. In the Imperial Library of S. Petersburg since 1883. (V. K. Jernstedt, 1883.)

Usserianus. The collection of James Ussher (1581–1656), Abp. of Armagh, Ireland. Purchased for Trinity College, Dublin, in 1661.

Uticensis (Uticum), S. Évroul (Ebrulphus) d'Ouche, Normandy. Some MSS. at Alençon and Rouen.

Utinensis (Utina), Udine, It. Biblioteca Florio. (Mazzatinti: Cosattini, *Studi Ital.*, 4, p. 201, 1896.)

V

Vadianus, s.v. Sangallensis.

Valentianensis (Valentianae in Flandris), Valenciennes, Fr. (Mangeart, 1860; Molinier*.) Cf. S. Amandi.

Valentiniana, Library at Camerino, It.

Valentinus (Valentia), Valencia, Sp. Cf. Calabricus.

Valesianus, (1) Henricus Valesius (de Valois), 1603–1676, French scholar. MSS. at Orléans, s.v. Aurelianensis. (2) Adrien de Valois, 1607–1692, his brother, historiographer and scholar.

Vallensis, MSS. of Laurentius Valla, the Italian humanist (1417-1467). At Paris, Vatican, Modena.

Vallettianus, MSS. of Giuseppe Valletta, bought for Oratorian Library, Naples, in 1726.

Vallicellianus. The library of the Oratory of S. Maria in Vallicella, Rome, founded by the Portuguese scholar Achilles Statius (Estaço), 1581. (E. Martini, 1902, gives the Gk. MSS.)

Vallis Clericorum, Vauclerc or Vauclair, Fr. MSS. at Laon.

Vallisoletanus (Vallisoletum), Valladolid, Sp. (Gutierrez del Caño, 1880–1890.)

Varinus, s.v. Guarinus.

Varsoviensis (Varsovia), Warsaw, Poland. MSS. at S. Petersburg, Imperial Library, since 1834.

Västerås, s.v. Arosiensis.

Vaticanus. The Papal Library in the Vatican, Rome, first organized by Nicholas V (1447–1455). The oldest collections of MSS. are:— (1) Ottoboniani (s.v.). (2) Palatini (s.v.). (3) Bibliotheca Pii II, transferred on his death in 1464 to S. Silvestro and incorporated with the Vatican by Clement XI (1700–1721). (4) Reginenses (s.v.). The Reginenses and the Bibl. Pii II form the *Bibliotheca Alexandrina*, so called after Pope Alexander VIII (1689–1691). (5) Urbinates (s.v.). (6) Vaticani antiqui (Valtasso and Cavalieri, 1902). (7) Capponiani (s.v.). Among recent additions to the Library are: (1) the Bibl. Barberina. (2) Bibl. S. Basilii de Urbe. (3) Bibl. Borghesiana. (4) Bibl. Columnensis. (5) MSS. of Museo Borgiano, transferred in 1902. These are described under their several titles.

Vedastinus, S. Vaast, Arras, Fr.

Venetus (Venetiae), Venice, It. s.v. Marciana. (For old libraries cf. J. P. Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae*, 1650.)

Ventimilliana, library at Catania, Sicily (s.v. Catinensis).

Vercellensis (Vercellae), Bibl. Agnesiana, Vercelli, It.

Veronensis (Verona), Verona, It. (1) The Capitular Library. (A. Masotti, 1788; Giuliari, 1888; Gk. MSS. described by Omont, *Zentralblatt für Bibl.*, viii, p. 489.) (2) Bibl. Comunale. (G. Biadego, 1892.)

Vesontinus (Vesontio), Besançon, Fr. MSS. of Cardinal Granvella. (Castan*; Gk. MSS., E. Gollob, 1910.)

Viceburgensis, s.v. Herbipolitanus.

Vicecomites, i.e. Visconti, s.v. Papiensis Ticinensis.

Vicetinus (Vicetia or Vincentia), Vicenza, It. Bibl. Bertoliana.

Victoriacensis (Victoriacum), Vitry-le-François, Fr.

Victorianus, Pietro Vettori (Victorius), 1499–1584. Professor of Classics at Florence. Part of his collection of MSS. is at Munich.

Villoison, Jean-Baptiste Gaspard d'Ansse de (1753–1805), Professor of Greek at Paris. MSS. at Paris, London, Göttingen, Florence (Laurent.).

Vimariensis (Vimaria, Vinaria), Weimar, Germ.

Vindobonensis (Vindobona), Vienna, Austr. (1) Bibl. Caesarea (or Palatina), now called the K. K. Hofbibliothek, founded in 1440. (Gk. Nessel, 1690; Lat. Endlicher, 1836.) The Library contains MSS. formerly in the possession of Busbecq, Matthias Corvinus, Sambucus, Raymund Fugger, Lambecius, and also Gk. MSS. transferred in 1778 from Neapolitan monasteries. (2) Bibl. des Schottenstiftes (A. Hübl, 1899). (3) Fideikommissbibliothek. (M. Becker, 1873.) (4) Rossiani (s.v. Rossianus).

Vindocinensis (Vindocinum), Vendôme, Fr.

Virdunensis, S. Ayric and S. Vito at Verdun, Fr.

Visconti, s.v. Papiensis.

Vitebergensis (Viteberga), Wittenberg, Germ.

Vittorio Emanuele, Library at Rome founded in 1876. It contains the MSS. of many suppressed monasteries and churches, e.g. S. Andrea de Valle, Ara Caeli, Collegio Romano, Farfenses, Sessoriani. (Gk. MSS., D. Tamila, *Studi It.*, 1902. *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 1881, xlii, p. 605, describes the losses suffered by thefts in 1870.)

Volaterranus, Volterra, It. Bibl. Guarnacciana. (Mazzatinti.)

Vorauviensis, Vorau, Austr.

Vormatiensis, s.v. Wormaciensis.

Vossianus, MSS. of Isaac Voss (1618–1689), scholar and friend of Queen Christina of Sweden, appointed prebend of Windsor by Charles II in 1673. His collection of 762 MSS. was sold by his executors to the University Library at Leyden after unsuccessful negotiations with the Bodleian.

Vratislaviensis (Vratislavia), Breslau, Germ. (1) Stadtbibliothek, containing the MSS. of Rehdiger and of Bibl. Magdalenaea (q.v.). (Catalogue of Gk. MSS., 1889.) (2) University Library. (3) Dom-bibliothek founded by Bp. Roth (1482-1506), destroyed in 1632, but restored later (cf. J. Jungnitz, Silesiaca, 1898).

Vulcanianus, Bonaventura Vulcanius (de Smet), b. Bruges 1538, Professor of Greek at Leyden 1578, d. 1614. His MSS. are now at Leyden. (Catalogue, 1910.)

W

Wallersteinensis, MSS. in the library of the Grafen von Oettingen-Wallerstein at Maihingen, Germ.

Wallianus, MSS. collected by Hermann van der Wall, acquired by D'Orville, from whom they passed to the Bodleian.

Wallrafianus, the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, Germ., founded by Kanonikus F. Wallraf, d. 1824. Now incorporated with the Stadtbibliothek.

Warmiensis (Warmia), Warmerlandt, now Ermeland, a diocese of East Prussia. The Bishop had his see at Frauenburg.

Weihenstephensis, Weihenstephan, Germ. At Munich.

Weilburgensis, Weilburg, Germ. Bibl. des Königl. Gymnasiums. (R. Gropius, 1885.)

Weingartensis, Weingarten, Germ. Now at Stuttgart and Fulda.

Weissenauensis, the Monasterium Sanctorum Petri et Pauli at Weissenburg, Alsace, Germ. At Wolfenbüttel since 1690.

Weissenburgensis, (1) Weissenburg, Transylvania, Austr., now known as Karlsburg. MSS. in the Batthyaneum. (2) Weissenburg, Alsace. MSS. of the abbey of SS. Peter and Paul, now at Wolfenbüttel (s. v. Guelferbytanus).

Weissenstein, s. v. Pommersfelden.

Werdensis, (1) Donauwörth, Verda or Donavertia, Germ. (2) The Reichsabtei at Werden in Prussia. MSS. at Berlin, Darmstadt, Düsseldorf, Münster. (A. Schmidt, *Zentralblatt für Bibl.*, 1905, p. 241.)

Wernigerodensis, Wernigerode, Germ. (Förstermann, 1866.)

Wessofontanus, Wessobrunn, Germ. Now at Munich.

Westerås, s. v. Arosiensis.

Widmannianus, MSS. belonging to Karl Widmann of Wolfenbüttel, *circ.* 1613, e.g. that of Prudentius now in the British Museum.

Wigorniensis, (1) Wigornium or Vigornia, Worcester, England. (2) Worcester College, Oxford.

Windbergensis, Windberg, Germ. At Munich.

Wintonianus, Wintonensis (Wintonium), Winchester, England. Libraries at the Cathedral and at the College of S. Mary.

Wirzeburgensis, Würzburg, Germ., s.v. Herbipolitanus.

Wittert, Coll. of Baron Adrien de W. (1823–1903). Now at Liège (s.v. Leodicensis).

Wittianum fragmentum. A fragment of Martial discovered by Karl Witte at Perugia *circ.* 1829. For J. de Witt, a Dutch collector of MSS. at the end of the 18th century, vide s.v. Marcianus (3).

Wolf (Johann Christoph), pastor at Hamburg, d. 1739. MSS. in Johanneum, Hamburg.

Wolfenbuttelensis, s.v. Guelferbytanus.

Wormaciensis (Wormacia), Worms, Germ.

Wyttenbachianus, MSS. of Daniel Albert Wyttenbach (1746–1820), Professor at Leyden. In the University Library, Leyden, since 1822.

X

Ximenes, Fr. (1459–1517), Cardinal and Abp. of Toledo. MSS. at Toledo.

Z

Zalusciana bibliotheca, formerly at Warsaw, transferred in 1795 to the Imperial Library at S. Petersburg. It was founded by Count Joseph Zaluski in 1747.

Zamoyski Library, Warsaw, Russia.

Zulichemius, s.v. Hugenianus.

Zurla, s.v. S. Michaelis.

Zviccaviensis, Zwickau, Germ. Cf. Daumianus.

Zwettl, Lower Austria. (J. von Frast, 1846; Rössler in *Xenia Bernardina,* 1891.)

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Acc. corr. = accentus correctus.
accedit A, i.e. codex A begins or resumes.
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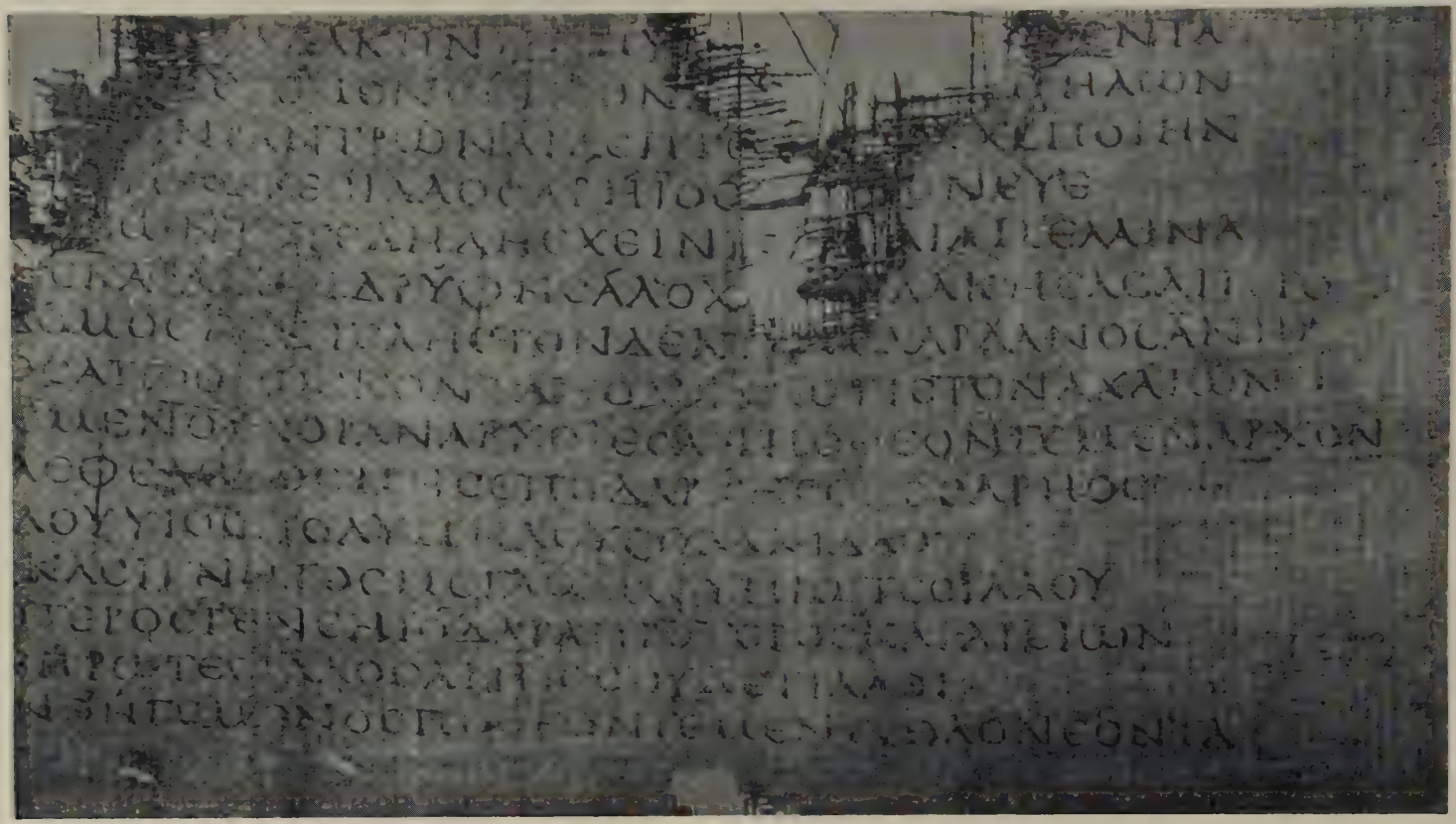
PLATES

PLATE I

THE PAPYRUS PLANT
(*Cyperus papyrus*)



HOMER, *Iliad* II. 695–709
(Bodleian papyrus, 2nd cent. A. D.)

PLATE III

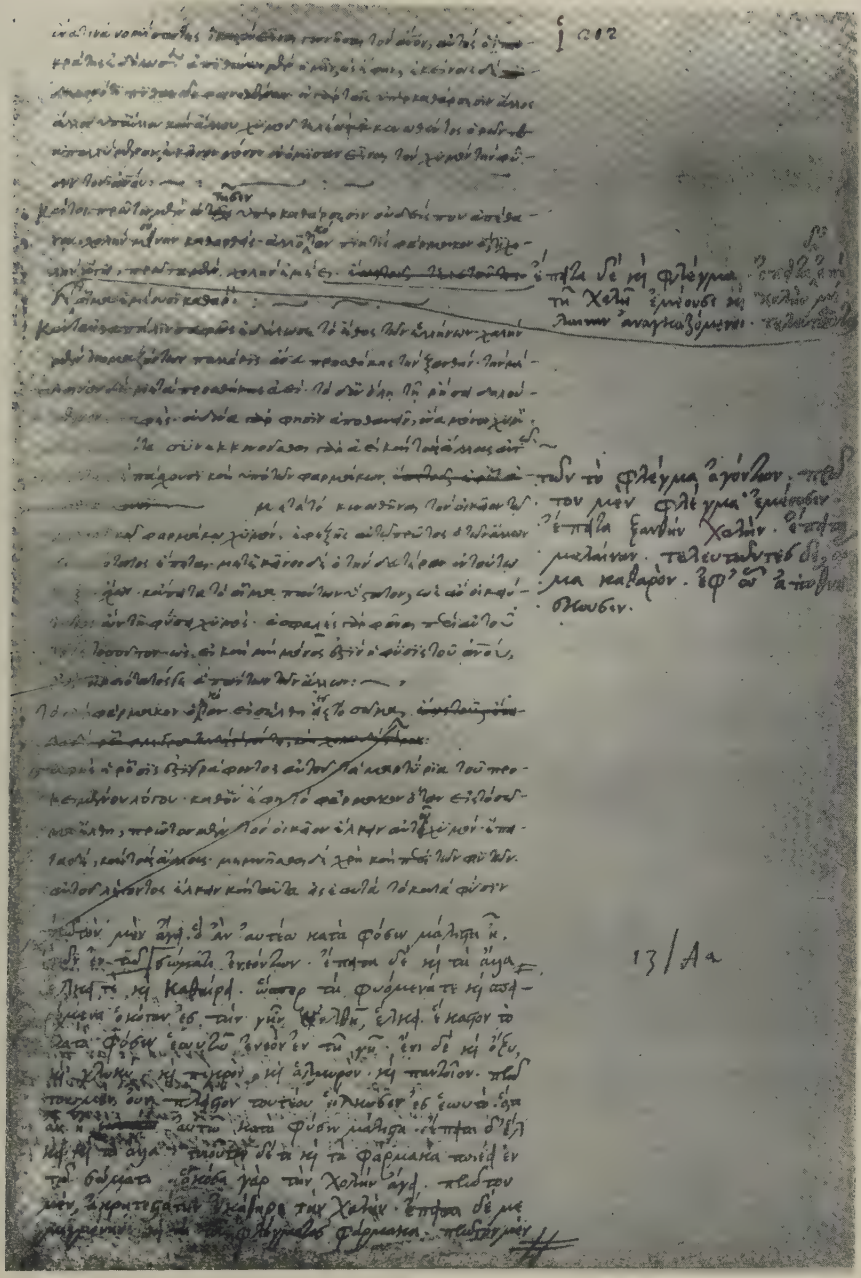
A GREEK PHYSICIAN READING

(The work that he is reading is in nine rolls. Eight are arranged in a pyramid in the Armarium, and he is holding the ninth in his hand. The inscription is given in Kaibel's *Epigrammata Graeca*, no. 712)

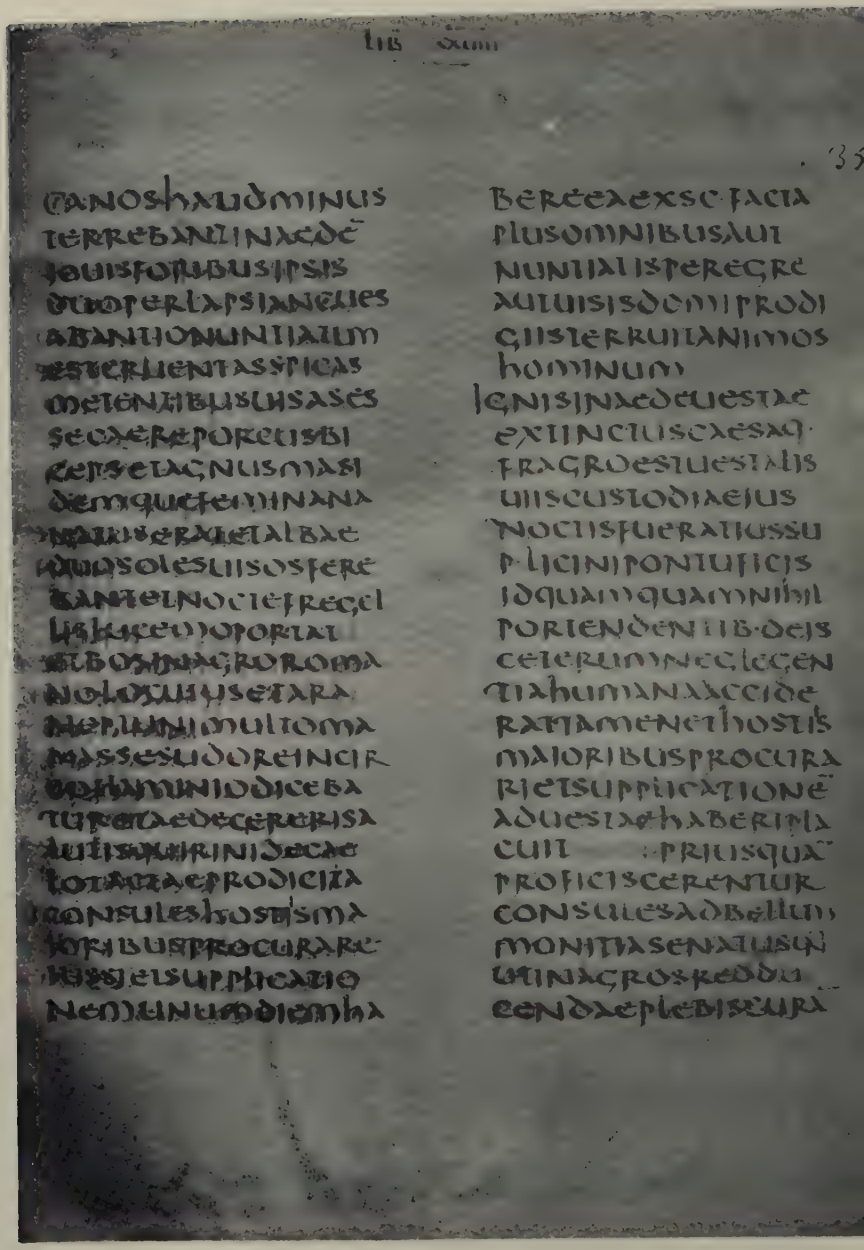
PLATE IV

SCRIBE AT WORK

(From Paris MS. Fonds français 9198, fol. 19 written in 1456)

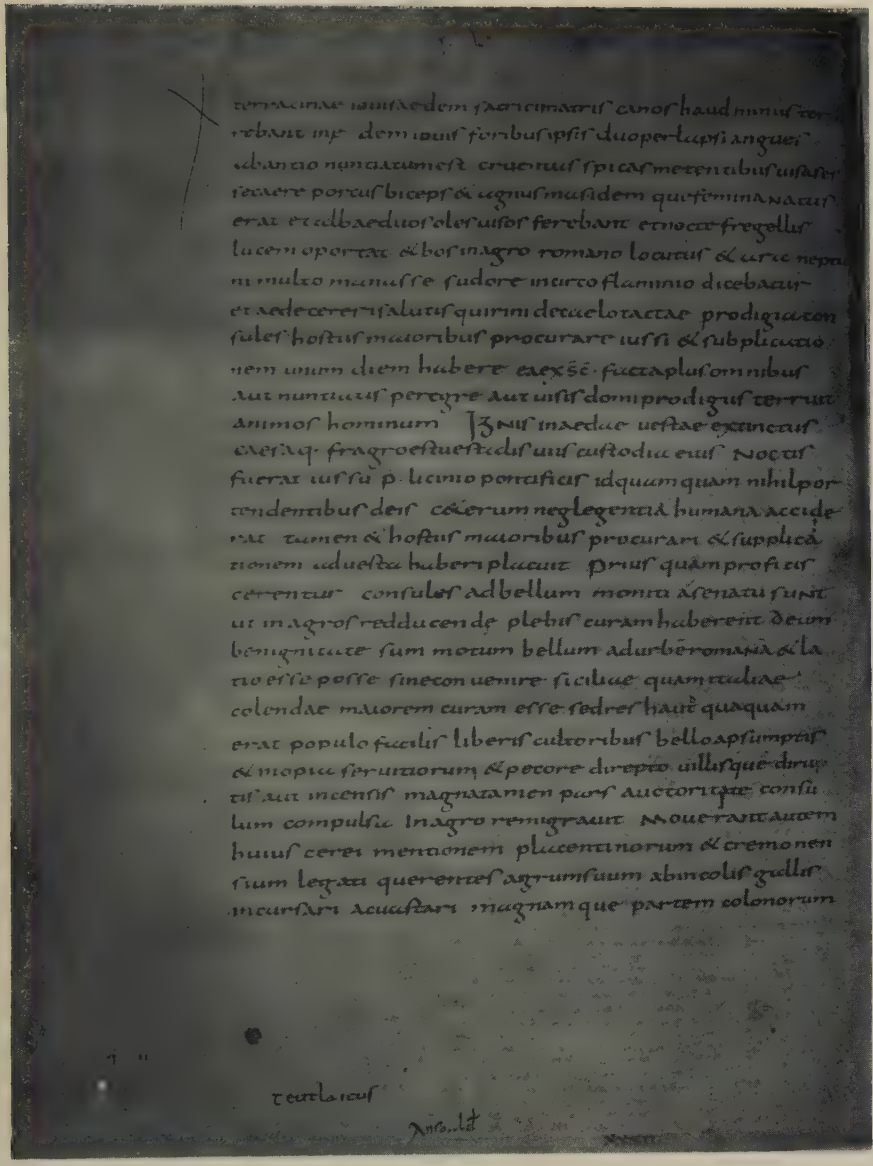


REGINENSIS VATICANUS GRAEC. 173: SAEC. XV, FOL. 202ʳ
Galen, Kühn xv. 77)



PARISINUS 5730: SAEC. V, FOL. 355
(*Liv.* XXVIII. II. 2-8)

PLATE VII



VATICANUS REGINENSIS 762: SAEC. IX, FOL. 201^{v}
(*Liv.* XXVIII. II. 2–10)